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IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION

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THE BUREAU OF EXTENSION,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

The High School Debating Union

History and Purpose

The High School Debating Union was organized among the secondary and high schools of North Carolina by the Dialectic and Philanthropic Literary Societies of the University during the school year 1912-1913. It was organized to encourage debating in a definite, systematic fashion among North Carolina high school students. The query of that year was, RESOLVED, *That the Constitution of North Carolina should be so amended as to allow women to vote under the same qualifications as men.* Ninety schools took part in this state-wide debate on February 22, 1913. Sixteen schools won both debates and sent their teams to Chapel Hill for the Final Contest. The Pleasant Garden High School of Guilford County, represented by Messrs. Grady Bowman and S. C. Hodgin, was the winner in the Final Contest, on March 7th, and accordingly was awarded the Aycock Memorial Cup.

A Part of Extension Work

During the school year of 1913-1914 the High School Debating Union moved onward with splendid success. It received the additional support of the Bureau of Extension of the University, in order to insure its permanence and enlarge its usefulness and scope. Everywhere, all over the State, it was recognized as a definite, big part of the University's effort to bring itself into a helpful relation with every community and every person in North Carolina. One hundred and fifty schools enrolled in the Union and took part in the triangular debates on March 20, 1914. Forty-one schools won both of their debates and sent their teams, numbering 164 debaters, to Chapel Hill to compete in the Final Contest. Before an audience of 2,000 in Memorial Hall, on April 3d, the Winston-Salem High School, represented by Messrs. Charles Roddick and Clifton Eaton, won the Final Contest and was awarded the Aycock Memorial Cup. The query was, RESOLVED, *That the Constitution of North Carolina should be so amended as to allow the Initiative and Referendum in State-wide legislation.*

The Contest of 1914-1915

The contest of 1914-1915 was the most successful which had yet been held. Two hundred and fifty schools in 90 counties became members of the Union. Representing them, 1,000 student-debaters spoke, March

26th, before large audiences in cities, towns, and rural communities all over North Carolina, on the query, RESOLVED, *That the United States should adopt the policy of subsidizing its Merchant Marine engaged in foreign trade.* Fifty schools won both debates and sent their teams to Chapel Hill to compete in the Final Contest. Before another splendid audience in Memorial Hall, on April 9th, the Wilson High School, represented by Misses Lalla Rookh Fleming and Ethel Gardner, won and was awarded the Aycock Memorial Cup.

The Contest of 1915-1916

Three hundred and twenty-five schools represented by 1,300 debaters enrolled in the Union during the fall of 1915 for a great State-wide debate March 31, 1916, on the query, RESOLVED, *That the United States should adopt the policy of greatly enlarging its Navy.* Sixty-eight schools won both debates and sent their teams to Chapel Hill to compete in the Final Contest. The Aycock Memorial Cup was won, on April 14th, by Miss Myrtle Cooper and Boyd Harden of the Graham High School. Five hundred visitors came to Chapel Hill for the Final Contest of the Debating Union and the other features of High School Week.

The Contest of 1916-17

The query which was discussed in the fifth annual contest of the High School Debating Union was, RESOLVED, *That the Federal Government should own and operate the railways.* The state-wide contest on March 31, 1917, was participated in by 1,324 student-debaters, representing 331 schools. Seventy-four schools won both debates and sent their representatives to Chapel Hill to compete in the Final Contest. Messrs. Vinson Smathers and Roy Francis of the Waynesville High School were victorious from the total number of 296 debaters present, and were awarded the Aycock Memorial Cup, the final debate being held in Memorial Hall before an audience which taxed to the utmost the hall's capacity. The number of visitors coming to the University for the exercises of High School Week was six hundred.

The Contest of 1917-1918

The sixth contest centered around the query: RESOLVED, *That Congress should enact a law providing for the compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes.* The finals were held at Chapel Hill on April 11th and 12th, when 66 teams with 264 debaters participated. This was probably one of the most spirited and hotly contested debates ever held on the Hill. From first to last the good sportsmanship of every one was a matter of most favorable comment. Thomas Burton and Will Anderson, representing the Wilson High School, won the decision and carried the

Aycock Memorial Cup back to Wilson for the second time, Wilson having won the 1915 contest.

The Contest of 1918-1919

The query which was discussed in the seventh annual contest of the High School Debating Union was, Resolved, *That the United States Government should adopt a policy requiring one year of Military Training of all able-bodied men before they reach the age of 21.* One hundred and eighty schools in seventy-five counties took part in the state-wide discussion of this subject on April 4, 1919. Forty-one schools won both of their debates and sent their teams, numbering 164 debaters, to the University to participate in the final contest for the Aycock Memorial Cup. Miss Aura Holton and Leo Brady, representing the Durham High School, were successful in winning the award of the Aycock Memorial Cup, in the final debate held in Memorial Hall on May 2nd.

The Query for 1919-1920

The query which will be discussed this year by the schools having membership in the High School Debating Union is, Resolved, *That the United States should adopt a policy of further material restriction of immigration.* The general subject of the further material restriction of immigration as a national policy is one of the most important of the present-day problems confronting the country. The committee feels that the high school students of the State can study and discuss this subject with interest, and enthusiasm, and with profit to themselves and their communities.

Membership of the Union

Every secondary and high school in North Carolina is invited to become a member of the Union and participate in this State-wide debate. Every school that enters will, as usual, be grouped with two others in a triangle, each school putting out two teams, one on the affirmative and the other on the negative. Every school which wins both of its debates will be entitled to send its teams to Chapel Hill to contest for the State Championship and the Aycock Memorial Cup.

Regulations

1. The Dialectic and Philanthropic Literary Societies of the University of North Carolina will suggest a query, to be discussed on a given date by the schools entering the Union.

2. All secondary schools of North Carolina, however supported, offering regularly organized courses of study above the seventh grade,

and not extending in their scope and content beyond a standard four-year high school course as defined by the State Department of Education, shall be eligible for membership in the Debating Union.

3. All schools accepting this offer and thus becoming members of the Union shall be arranged into groups of three, for a triangular debate, the status and standards of the schools, their proximity, accessibility, and convenience of location to be considered in forming the groups.

4. Each school of each triangular group shall agree to furnish two debating teams of two members each, the one to uphold the affirmative side of the query, and the other to defend the negative side.

5. The members of the debating teams must all be bona fide students of the school which they represent. To be bona fide students, they must be in attendance at the time of the debate, and they must have been in attendance for at least 30 per cent of the school year up to and including the date of the debate, and must have made passing grades on a majority of their work.

6. The team debating at home shall in each case uphold the affirmative side of the query, and the visiting team the negative.

7. The schools themselves shall select and agree upon the judges of the local contests.

8. Each speaker shall have twenty minutes at his disposal, not more than fifteen of which shall be used in the first speech.

9. Any school which shall win both of its debates shall be entitled to send both of its teams to the University for the State Championship Contest. Provided, that the committee may, with the approval of the schools, arrange for a second triangular contest between the winning schools throughout the State prior to the final contest at the University, should this plan appear to be a wise one. In this case, only those schools whose teams should win both debates in the second contest would be entitled to representation at Chapel Hill.

10. In the event that one school of a triangle drops out and the committee at Chapel Hill is unable to secure a school to take its place, then the two teams remaining shall debate one another, each sending a team on the negative to the other.

11. In the event that two schools of a triangle drop out of the Union and the committee is unable to secure schools to take their places, then the remaining school shall be declared the winner over the others, by their default.

12. The school having the strongest team on the affirmative side of the query and the school having the strongest team on the negative side shall be entitled to contest publicly in the University Chapel for the Aycock Memorial Cup. (The strongest team on each side of the query is to be determined by means of preliminary contests in debate at Chapel Hill.)

13. The school which shall win the debate, thus finally held, shall have its name inscribed on the Memorial Cup, together with the names of its two winning representatives.

14. Any school which shall win in the final contest for two years in succession shall have the cup for its own property.

15. All high school representatives and principals coming to the University for this contest will be met at the station by a committee and will be entertained free of cost while at Chapel Hill.

16. All contestants are expected to prepare their own speeches with legitimate assistance of the teachers, principals, or superintendents in their school system. *Legitimate assistance* is interpreted to mean *oral* advice, suggestions, discussion, and criticism.

Suggestions as to Judges

1. The judges should be disinterested parties to the success of either team, and, so far as possible, should be non-local.

2. They should sit apart during the debate.

3. They should judge the contest *as a debate*, and at its conclusion without consulation should vote "Affirmative or "Negative" on the merits of the *debate*. They should not consider the merits of the question.

4. Each judge should sign and seal his vote and deliver it, through an usher, to the presiding officer who should publicly open the votes and announce the decision.

5. Before the debate begins a copy of these suggestions should be given to each judge for his guidance.

Originality of Debates

The High School Conference in session at Chapel Hill during the summer of 1916 recommended, "That the principals of the schools in the various triangles be urged to take some steps among themselves looking toward the originality of the debates." The committee realizes that "The debate which a speaker produces should be his very best; but it should under no circumstances be better than his best"; that the success of the Union will be seriously hindered unless in each instance the speech of a debater represents his own individual work. It wishes, therefore, to ask the principals to give this matter their careful consideration and to note particularly Regulation No. 16. In cases where necessary, the principals in the various triangles should take such action among themselves as they deem necessary.

Enter Your School Now

The High School Debating Union is essentially an organization for the secondary and high schools of the State. That it possesses un-

limited possibilities for usefulness to every high school and teacher and to every community in the State goes without saying. Its success, however, and its benefits to those concerned are dependent upon the support accorded it by the students and school men of North Carolina. If your school has not yet enrolled, in order that its possibilities for usefulness to you may be realized, see to it that your school—the school of which you are principal, or the school which you attend, or the school in your community—enrolls immediately in the Union.

For fuller information, address

E. R. RANKIN, *Secretary*,
HIGH SCHOOL DEBATING UNION,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Immigration Restriction

Query

RESOLVED, *That the United States should adopt a policy of further material restriction of immigration.*

Explanation and Limitation

It is not intended by the committee to place set limits on the various plans and programs for putting in effect a policy of further material restriction of immigration which may be advanced in the debates of the High School Debating Union. It is intended, rather, that the debates shall in all cases be pitched on a plane which is free from technicalities, and in harmony with a broad view of the question of the further material restriction of immigration.

However, some definite programs which, put in effect, would clearly constitute policies of further material restriction of immigration are as follows: the complete exclusion of all immigrants for the space of three years or more; the admission during any year from any country of a total number not exceeding thirty three and one-third per cent. of the number of naturalized citizens from that country in the United States in the last census year; such further extension and tightening of our present tests—educational, mental, physical, financial, and otherwise—as would clearly provide for a policy of marked and considerable restriction of those admitted to our shores.

UNITED STATES ALIEN IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

(By ANTHONY CAMINETTI, U. S. Commissioner of Immigration. Figures denoting immigration for the years 1832, 1843, 1850, and 1857 represent respectively 15 month, 9 month, 15 month, and 6 month periods.)

TOTAL, FROM ALL COUNTRIES BY FISCAL YEARS.

Year	*Number*	*Year*	*Number*	*Year*	*Number*	*Year*	*Number*
1820	8,385	1846	154,416	1872	404,806	1897	230,832
1821	9,127	1847	234,968	1873	459,803	1898	229,299
1822	6,911	1848	226.527	1874	313,339	1899	311,715
1823	6,354	1849	297,024	1875	227,498	1900	448,572
1824	7,921	1850	369,980	1876	169,986	1901	487,918
1825	10,199	1851	379,466	1877	141,857	1902	648,743
1826	10,837	1852	371,603	1878	138,469	1903	857,046
1827	18,875	1853	368,645	1879	177,826	1904	812,870
1828	27,382	1854	427,833	1880	457,257	1905	1,026,499
1829	22,520	1855	200,877	1881	669,431	1906	1,100,735
1830	23,322	1856	195,857	1882	788,992	1907	1,285,349
1831	22,633	1857	112,123	1883	603,322	1908	782,870
1832	60,482	1858	191,942	1884	518,592	1909	751,786
1833	58,640	1859	129,571	1885	395,346	1910	1,041,570
1834	65,365	1860	133,143	1886	334,203	1911	878,587
1835	45,374	1861	142,877	1887	490,109	1912	838,172
1836	76,242	1862	72,183	1888	546,889	1913	1,197,892
1837	79,340	1863	132,925	1889	444,427	1914	1,218,480
1838	38,914	1864	191,114	1890	455,302	1915	326,700
1839	68,069	1865	180,339	1891	560,319	1916	298,826
1840	84,066	1866	332,577	1892	579,663	1917	295,403
1841	80,289	1867	303,104	1893	439,730	1918	110,618
1842	104,565	1868	282,189	1894	285,631		
1843	52,496	1869	352,768	1895	258,536	Total	33,058,971
1844	78,615	1870	387,203	1896	343,267		
1845	114,371	1871	321,350				

IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION

A summary of immigration legislation by the United States, based on the report of the Immigration Commission, is as follows:

1819—A law was passed regulating the carriage of steerage passengers at sea and providing for the recording of statistics relative to immigration to the United States.

"Native American" and "Know Nothing" Period, 1835-1860. This period was characterized by active agitation, chiefly of an anti-Catholic nature, but practically no legislation resulted.

1836—The Secretary of State was directed to collect information relating to immigration of foreign paupers and criminals.

1838—The Committee on Judiciary in the House of Representatives was instructed to consider the expediency of revising the naturalization laws, and of providing by law against the introduction of vagabonds and paupers deported from foreign countries. No legislative action was taken.

1847-1848—Amendments to the law of 1819 in the interests of better steerage conditions were passed.

1855—Another attempt to regulate steerage conditions was made in the passage of a law providing for increased air space, better ventilation, etc. Unfortunately the wording of the act made these provisions practically inoperative.

Period of State Control, 1861-1882

1864—A law was passed to encourage immigration for the purpose of meeting the anticipated demand for labor following the civil war. The law provided for the appointment of a Commissioner of Immigration. There was also a provision relating to contract labor, contracts entered on in foreign countries to be valid in the United States.

1866—An amendment to the foregoing law provided for additional commissioners of immigration to be stationed in cities on the Atlantic coast.

In this year Congress also passed a resolution protesting against the prcatice of foreign countries of using the United States as a dumping ground for criminals, etc.

1868—The law of 1864 was repealed.

1875—A law was passed providing for the exclusion of prostitutes.

1876—A decision of the Supreme Court rendered much of the state legislation relating to immigration invalid and the period of national control began.

Period of National Control, 1882

1882—The first general immigration law was passed with the following provisions: A head tax of 50 cents was imposed; convicts (except

those convicted for political offence), lunatics, idiots and persons likely to become public charges were excluded; the Secretary of the Treasury was given power of enforcement with the right to delegate powers to State authorities.

The first effective law regulating steerage conditions was also passed in this year.

1885—A law forbidding the importation of contract labor was passed. It made no provision, however, for inspection or the deportation of contract laborers.

1887—The defect of the contract labor law was remedied by an amendment giving the Secretary of the Treasury the right to enforce its provisions.

1888—Another amendment provided for the deportation within a year of any immigrant landed contrary to the law of 1885.

1889—A Standing Committee on Immigration in the Senate and a Select Committee on Immigration in the House were established. In 1890 these committees were authorized to make an investigation of immigration and the working of the various laws relating to it.

1891—On the recommendations of these committees a law was passed with the following provisions.

The head tax of 50 cents was retained.

Persons suffering from a loathsome or a dangerous, contagious disease, and polygamists were added to the classes to be excluded.

The encouragement of immigration through advertisements promising employment was forbidden, and transportation companies were forbidden to solicit or encourage immigration.

The office of Superintendent of Immigration was authorized and federal control of immigration was fully established by the transference to federal authorities of those functions that had been delegated to the States.

The commanding officer of any vessel bringing in alien immigrants was required to make full reports as to name, nationality, etc., of such aliens.

Examination on the borders of Canada and Mexico was provided for.

Provision was made for the return within a year of any alien landed in violation of the law, such return to be at the expense of the transportation company.

1892—A joint committee was appointed to make an investigation of the workings of the various laws.

1893—An amendment raised the head tax from 50 cents to $1.

1897—A bill providing for an educational test passed both houses, but was vetoed by President Cleveland.

1898—An Industrial Commission was created with power to investigate questions pertaining to immigration and to suggest legislation.

1903—A law was passed, the principal object of which was to codify all previous legislation from the act of 1875 to the act of 1894. It also raised the head tax from $1 to $2; debarred the following: epileptics, persons who had been insane within five years previous, or who had had two previous attacks of insanity at any time, professional beggars, anarchists; and made it unlawful for any person to assist in the unlawful entry or naturalization of an anarchist. The Department of Commerce and Labor was organized and the Commissioner-General of Immigration was placed under the jurisprudence and supervision of that department.

1906—A law was passed providing a uniform rule for naturalization of aliens. The designation of the Bureau of Immigration was changed to Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization.

1907—A number of bills relating to immigration were introduced in the sessions of the 59th Congress. After much discussion and many amendments a law was passed, of which the following were the provisions:

The head tax was placed at $4.

The following classes were added to those excluded: Imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, unaccompanied children under 17, persons "Who are found to be mentally and physically defective, such mental or physical defect being of the nature which may affect the ability of the alien to earn a living"; "women and girls coming into the United States for the purpose of prostitution or any other immoral purpose."

A Division of Distribution in the Bureau of Immigration was authorized.

Steamship companies were required to furnish lists of outgoing pasengers.

The Immigration Commission was created.

The President was empowered to call, at his discretion, an international conference, or to send commissioners to any foreign country for the purpose of regulating any matter relating to immigration by international agreement.

The President was also empowered to revoke the passports of aliens when it should appear that such passports were used by the holders to enter United States territory "to the detriment of labor conditions therein."

A section was added to the act of 1882 for the regulation of steerage conditions; to go into effect in 1909.

1910—The section of the act of 1907 relating to prostitution was strengthened by provision for the punishment and deportation of aliens who in any way profit from the proceeds of prostitution. This was followed by the interstate law prohibiting the transportation of persons from one state to another for purposes of prostitution.

1913—A bill providing for a literacy test passed both houses but was vetoed by President Taft.

1915—A similar bill was passed and vetoed by President Wilson.

1917—Congress passed over President Wilson's veto the literacy test bill, which provides that immigrants before entering this country must be able to read in some language.

Brief

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION

RESOLVED, *That the United States should adopt a policy of further material restriction of immigration.*

Introduction

I. The immigration problem has always been a most vital one to the American people.
   A. The United States has been peopled and developed by immigrant races. From 1820 through the fiscal year 1918, more than 33,000,000 immigrants had come to America. In 1914, more than 1,200,000 immigrants arrived.

II. There have been notable changes in the character of the immigration since the United States became a nation. English immigration was largely superseded by Irish and German. The Irish and Germans were superseded by Scandinavians and Danes. The Italians and other nationals of Southern Europe and Russian Jews have supplied the great part of our immigration in recent years.

III. The general subject of immigration is one which requires most careful study and thought on the part of the American people at the present time. The question at issue is whether we should provide for a policy of further material restriction of immigration laws should remain substantially the same.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. Present conditions in the United States demand a change in our immigration policy, providing for further material restriction.
   A. The United States does not need more immigrants.
      1. The public lands are now all taken up and the lands remaining which can be purchased at low prices require skill in their cultivation which the immigrant does not possess.
   B. In the unsettled economic and industrial state, which now follows the world war, every effort is needed to quiet the social unrest, and further immigration should be avoided as a disturbing factor.
   C. The argument that we should continue to admit foreigners without further material restriction simply because in the past we have found such a policy advisable, is unsound.

1. Formerly we had thousands of square miles of arable land to give away, in an unsettled country, whereas now we have no free available land, and the country is settled.

D. As pointed out by Frederic C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration of the port of New York, various influences will tend to greatly stimulate immigration from all of the countries.
   1. The soldiers of Europe have experienced new freedom which will add to their roving disposition.
   2. By reason of the suffering in the world war and the prospect of high taxes in the immediate future, millions will wish to emigrate to America shortly.

E. During the world war, it was plainly evident that the United States had far too many aliens within her borders who would have destroyed American institutions had they been able. This was the result of our too-liberal immigration laws of the past.

F. America is no longer called upon to furnish an asylum for the oppressed.
   1. Immigrants now come only to better their own economic condition.

II. The present day immigration is as a whole undesirable, constituing, as it does, a grave menace to the life of the American democracy.

A. Immigrants from Southern Europe, Russia, and Asiatic countries have lower standards than ours, and they constantly tend to break down the American standards of morality, living conditions, and life.

B. With unrestricted immigration the American wage earners are subject to the ruinous competition of an unending stream of men freshly arriving from foreign lands who are accustomed to so low a grade of living that they can easily underbid the wage-earners established in this country.

C. The alien elements have grown so rapidly that in many parts of the country they are dominant now.
   1. In New York 78.6 per cent., in Boston 74.2 per cent., in Cleveland 75.8 per cent., in Chicago 77.5 per cent., of the people are of foreign birth or immediate foreign extraction.

D. The coming of immigrants is fraught with danger to the Republic.
   1. Plots lately discovered in this country planned by alien anarchists had in view the upsetting of the Government.

E. Great numbers come to American shores and remain only as "birds of passage" to return to their native countries, carrying their earnings back with them. They have no intention of making their homes in America and no real interest in the preservation of American institutions and standards.

F. The new immigrants are burdensome politically.
   1. They come from monarchial countries and have no conception of the ideals of a democracy.
   2. They flock to the sweat shops and to the slums of cities, and create breeding places of disease and vice that become national menaces.

III. Distribution and regulation will not solve the problem.
   A. Those who advocate distribution as a panacea and urge the sending of incoming immigrants to agricultural districts are indulging themselves in vain hopes.
      1. The great majority of the present immigrants are not inclined to agricultural pursuits, but prefer to flock to the cities.
      2. Those who have been accustomed to farm labor in their own countries have worked under very different conditions and are not fitted to meet the demands of an undeveloped country, especially in the arid regions of the West.
      3. The demand for farm labor is seasonal.
      4. The South does not want immigrants.

IV. The United States has reached the point where it is imperative that, as a measure of safeguarding her own future, she adopt a policy of further material restriction of immigration.
   A. The United States must give up the idea of being an asylum for the oppressed in all lands, lest she ruin her own future and not materially help the oppressed elsewhere.
      1. Had the millions of Chinese been admitted a few years ago, the status of America as a nation would be lower today and the status of China as a nation would not have been raised.
      2. America has a higher mission as a nation than that she "be spent quickly and cheerfully" for the benefit of pent-up millions in other lands. Through the preservation and permanence of her own institutions and standards of life, her future will, through her example, be of vast value to all nations.

V. Further material restriction of immigration is in complete harmony with the principles underlying our democratic form of government.
   A. Any political unit has the right to protect itself from the invasion of anything tending to retard its normal life and development, whether this be noxious weeds or animals, or whether it be persons whose presence tends to lower the average intelligence, political capacity or mental and physical health of the unit.
   B. Genuine humane sentiment is consistent with the demand for maintenance of community and national standards.

C. For America to decline to place further material restriction on immigration would be ungenerous.
   1. Through encouragement of discontented millions in Europe in coming to America we would retard, not help, the development of America and of other countries as well.

NEGATIVE

I. The present laws restricting immigration are adequate and no further legislation is necessary.
   A. The laws now provide for the exclusion of all who are mentally and morally unfit, and for the exclusion of all who cannot read in some language. By laws and treaties the Chinese and Japanese have been denied entrance for many years.
   B. The United States needs immigrants to develop her untouched resources in farm, mine, and factory.
      1. Through the development of her great resources the United States could support easily a population several times the size of her present one.
      2. All industries are now crying for workers, and public improvements are being held up for lack of laborers.
      3. Immigrants are needed in the West which is sparsely settled and where new methods of farming have opened up great tracts of land before considered useless.
      4. The South needs immigrants. Each southern State could with profit to itself accommodate a large number of immigrants. The entire Peninsula of Italy excluding the Alps and Apennines is but little larger than the State of Georgia and supports chiefly by agriculture a population of 36,000,000.
   C. The ratio between foreign-born and native-born during the past fifty years remains substantially the same. In 1860 the census showed the foreign-born were 13.2 per cent. of the total population. In 1910 the consus showed the foreign-born were 14.7 per cent of the total population.
   D. Statistics and reports furnish us with convincing proof that our foreign-born inhabitants, given the opportunity to secure an education not only take advantage of it themselves, but see that their children receive an education.

II. Further material restriction of immigration would prove unwise from the standpoint of American labor, American capital, and the American public.
   A. It would work a hardship on American labor.
      1. What the worker needs in this country is the widest opportunity for employment and the greatest demand for the output of his handiwork.

2. To double the population doubles the home demand for labor's output. To decrease the population likewise decreases the demand.
3. It would compel many American laborers to remain at cheap and unskilled labor, through the cutting off of the supply of cheap labor from abroad.

B. Immigration is needed to supply labor for building our canals, reservoirs, railways, ships, and for cutting down our forests, for developing our mines and lands, for operating our factories, mills and furnaces.
1. There is a great dearth of labor for this important work now, and American-born laborers look with disdain on handling the pick and shovel.
2. With dependence placed in American citizens as common laborers the Panama Canal would not be built today. Americans served as engineers and foremen, while Spaniards, Mexicans and Jamacians supplied the common labor.

C. The immigrant by furnishing the needed labor opens up new and productive possibilities that otherwise would remain closed. Rather than to rob those here of work, his presence makes new and still more abundant work possible.

D. The American public would be the loser in that the increased cost of production resulting from scarcity of labor and lack of labor would call for higher prices for all commodities. High cost of living would be given a big boost thereby.

III. An examination of the so-called evils of the new immigration shows that they are either exaggerated or non-existent.

A. Americans have never adopted the standards of an incoming people, but on the contrary the newcomers have striven to emulate the native citizens.
1. It is invariably true that where people of a lower order of civilization are brought in contact with a more numerous people, possessed of an advanced civilization, the effect is not to degrade the higher civilization but to raise the lower.

B. There is no real ground for the opinion that the immigrants of the present generation are drawn from a poorer class than their predecessors.
1. All the charges against the new immigrants were once made against the old immigrants such as the Irish and Dutch.
2. The same intolerant attitude of mind which today leads some Americans to look down on Italians, Greeks, Poles, Bohemians, and Russian Jews, in the old days led to banishment and punishment of Quakers by the Anglo-Saxon Puritan settlers of early days.

C. Immigrants are eager patrons of the public school, the public library, and the art gallery.
   1. The U. S. Commissioner of Education states that one of the least illiterate elements of our population is the native-born children of foreign-born parents.

D. Each succeeding wave of immigration has forced the preceding wave forward, driving first the native stock, then the Irish and Germans and others higher in the economic scale.

E. Recent immigration has displaced none of the native American wage-earners but has only covered the shortage of labor resulting from the excess of the demand over the domestic supply.

IV. The solution of the immigration problem requires a change in our attitude toward the immigrant and the adoption of a system of distribution.

A. In our attitude toward the immigrant we have thought only of the benefit which he would derive from the mere privilege of living in America. We must cease to blame the immigrant for living in the slum and working under bad conditions. The slum and the bad conditions are ours.

B. A scheme of distribution should be devised providing for the movement of the mobile labor force to the parts of the country that need it, and providing for the establishment of agricultural colonies where the new immigrants may find new homes and where they may put in use their knowledge of diversified farming.

V. Further material restriction of immigration would be contrary to the principles which have guided America and which underlie our democracy.

A. Since America's founding she has been an asylum for the oppressed of all lands. "The right of political asylum," says President Wilson, "has brought to America many men of noble character and elevated purpose who became ornaments to our citizenship and public councils."

B. The workingmen, whether they come from Italy or Poland or Ireland or Germany or France, the men who come for the honest purpose of work may be counted as men of good hearts and good motives. As such, they make welcome additions to our country.

C. The greatest progress we have made as a nation is trade, in industry, in commerce, in agriculture, in education, in the arts, has been made during the decades when immigration to this country has been greatest.
   1. This country would not be settled from coast to coast; our cities would not be a fifth of their present size; our powers as a nation and our prosperity as individuals would only

have been a fraction of what they are had a policy of material restraint of immigration been pursued in the past.

D. Our wars have been fought by men of foreign birth or descent.
   1. The war poster "Americans All" contained the names of those of many nationalities taken from our casualty lists.

E. Immigration is the only thing which has made our nation strong and powerful. The American of today is not a distinct type. He is a mixture of immigrant races. The only native Americans were the Indians.

References—Affirmative

AMERICAN AND IMMIGRANT BLOOD

A Study of the Social Effects of Immigration

(By Edward Elsworth Ross, Professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, in *The Century* for December, 1913.)

[In these pages Professor Ross carries his study of our present immigration into the very throbbing heart of this nation. He shows how the sturdy blood of northern Europe once poured its red riches into American arteries to strengthen and to quicken, and he exhibits by contrast the vitiated and diseased and enfeebling mixtures in recent years. The near, inevitable future is apparent. This paper constitutes one of the gravest and most important considerations ever laid before the American people.—Editor, *The Century*.]

There is a certain anthracite town of 26,000 inhabitants in which are writ large the moral and social consequences of injecting 10,000 sixteenth-century people into a twentieth-century community. By their presence the foreigners necessarily lower the general plane of intelligence, self-restraint, refinement, orderliness, and efficiency. With them, of course, comes an increase of drink and of the crimes from drink. The great excess of men among them leads to sexual immorality and the diffusion of private diseases. A primitive midwifery is practised, and the ignorance of the poor mothers fills the cemetery with tiny graves. The women go about their homes barefoot, and their rooms and clothing reek with the odors of cooking and uncleanliness. The standards of modesty are Elizabethan. The foreigners attend church regularly, but their noisy amusements banish the quiet Sunday. The foreign men, three-eighths of whom are illiterate, pride themselves on their physical strength rather than on their skill, and are willing to take jobs requiring nothing but brawn.

Barriers of speech, education, and religious faith split the people into unsympathetic, even hostile camps. The worst element in the community makes use of the ignorance and venality of the foreign-born voters to exclude the better citizens from any share in the control of local affairs. In this babel no newspaper becomes strong enough to mold and lead public opinion. On account of the smallness of the English-reading public, the single English daily has so few subscribers that it cannot afford to offend any of them by exposing municipal rotten-

ness. The chance to prey on the ignorant foreigner tempts the cupidity and corrupts the ethics of local business and professional men. The Salvic thirst, multiplying saloons up to one for every twenty-six families, is communicated to Americans, and results in an increase of liquor crimes among all classes. In like manner familiarity with the immodesties of the foreigners coarsens the native-born.

With the basest Americans and the lowest foreigners united by thirst and greed, while the decent Americans and the decent foreigners understand one another too little for team-work, it is not surprising that the municipal government is poor and that taxpayers are robbed. Only a few of the main streets are paved; the rest are muddy and poorly guttered. Outside the central portion of the city one meets with open sewage, garbage, dungheaps, and foul odors. Sidewalks are lacking or in bad repair. The police force, composed of four Lithuanians, two Poles, one German, and one Irishman, is so inefficient that "pistol-toting" after nightfall is common among all classes. At times hold-ups have been so frequent that it was not considered safe for a well-dressed person to show himself in the foreign sections after dark. In the words of a prominent local criminal lawyer: "We have a police force that can't speak English. Within the last few years there have been six unavenged murders in this town. Why, if there were anybody I wanted to get rid of, I'd entice him here, shoot him down in the street, and then go around and say good-by to the police."

Here in a nutshell are presented the social effects that naturally follow the introduction into an advanced people of great numbers of backward immigrants. One need not question the fundamental worth of the immigrants or their possibilities in order to argue that they must act as a drag on the social progress of the nation that incorporates them.

Illiteracy

Among us there are now two million foreign-born illiterates, while the number of foreign-born men of voting age unable to read and write has passed the million mark. The confessed illiteracy of the multitudes coming from southern and eastern Europe is 35.8 per cent., as against 2.7 per cent. for the dwindling streams from the North and West. We know that the actual state is somewhat worse than these figures indicate. As the lands of ignorance discharge their surplus into our country, we must expect to meet fellow-citizens who, in the words of the Commissioner of Immigration at New York, "do not know the days of the week, the months of the year, their own ages, or the name of any country in Europe outside their own." Or, as another official puts it: "In our daily official duties we come to know as belonging to a normal human adult type the individual who cannot count to twenty every time correctly; who can tell the sum of two and two,

but not of nine and six; name the days of the week, but not the months of year; who knows that he has arrived at New York or Boston, as the case may be, but does not know the route he followed from his home or how long it took to reach here; who says he is destined to America, but has to rely on showing a written address for further particulars; who swears he paid his own passage, but is unable to tell what it cost, and at the same time shows an order for railroad transportation to destination prepaid in this country."

While sister countries are fast nearing the goal of complete adult literacy, deteriorating immigration makes it very hard to lift the plane of popular intelligence in the United States. The foreign-born between twenty and thirty-four years of age, late-comers of course, show five times the illiteracy of native whites of the same age. But those above forty-five years of age, mostly earlier immigrants, have scarcely twice the illiteracy of native whites above forty-five. This shows how much wider is the gulf between the Americans of today and the new immigrants than that between the Americans of a generation ago and the old immigrants.

Thanks to extraordinary educational efforts, the illiteracy of native white voters dropped a third during the last decade; that is, from 4.9 per cent. to 3.5 per cent. But the illiteracy of the foreign-born men rose to 12 per cent.; so that the proportion of white men in this country unable to read and write any language declined only 9 per cent. when, but for the influx of illiterates, it would have fallen 30 per cent.

In the despatches of August 16, 1912, is an account of a gathering of ten thousand afflicted people at a shrine at Cary, Ohio, reputed to possess a miraculous healing virtue. Special trains brought together multitudes of credulous, and at least one "miracle" was reported. As this country fills up with the densely ignorant, there will be more of this sort of thing. The characteristic features of the Middle Ages may be expected to appear among us to the degree that our population comes to be composed of persons at the medieval level of culture.

Yellow Journalism

In accounting for Yellow Journalism, no one seems to have noticed that saffron newspapers are aimed at a sub-American mind groping its way out of a fog. The scare-heads, red and green ink, pictures, words of one syllable, gong effects, and appeal to the primitive emotions, are apt to jar upon the home-bred farmer or mechanic. "After all," he reflects, "I am not a child." Since its success in the great cities, this style of newspaper has been tried everywhere; but it appears there are soils in which the "yellow" will not thrive. When a population is sixty per cent. American stock, the editor who takes for granted some intelligence in his readers outlasts the howling dervish. But

when the native stock falls below thirty per cent. and the foreign element exceeds it, yellowness tends to become endemic. False simplicity, distortion, and crude emotionalism are the resources of newspapers striving to reach and interest undeveloped minds. But the arts that win the immigrant deprave the taste of native readers and lower the intelligence of the community.

Peonage

The friendless, exploitable alien by his presence tends to corrupt our laws and practices respecting labor. In 1908 the House of Representatives directed the Immigration Commission to report on the treatment and conditions of work of immigrants in certain Southern States "and other States." The last phrase was introduced merely to avoid the appearance of sectionalism, for no congressman dreamed that peonage existed anywhere save in the South. The investigation disclosed, however, the startling fact that immigrant peonage exists in every State but Oklahoma and Connecticut. In the West the commission found "many cases of involuntary servitude," but no prosecutions. It was in the lumber-camps of Maine that the commission found "the most complete system of peonage in the country."

Caste Spirit

The desire to cure certain ills has been slow to develop among us because the victims are aliens who, we imagine, don't mind it very much. On learning that the low pay of the Italian navy forbids meat, we recall that all Italians prefer macaroni, anyhow. With downtrodden immigrants we do not sympathize as we would with downtrodden Americans. The foreign-born laborers are "wops" and don't count; the others are "white men." After a great mine disaster a Pittsburgh newspaper posted the bulletin: "Four hundred miners killed. Fifteen Americans." Of late a great split has opened between the American and Americanized working-men and the foreigners, with their new sense of being exploited and despised. The break shows itself sensationally in the bitter fight between the American Federation of Labor and the Industrial Workers of the World. The former denounces the red-flag methods of the latter, ignores I. W. W. strikes, and allows its members to become strike-breakers. When the latter precipitates a strike in some industry in which the Federationists are numerous, we shall see an unprecedented warfare between native and foreign groups of working-men. It is significant of the coming cleavage that the mother of the I. W. W., the Western Federation of Miners, at once the most American and the most radical of the great labor-unions, has

disowned the daughter organization since its leaders sought to rally inflammable and irresponsible immigrants with the fierce cry, "Sabotage. No Truce."

The Position of Women

Perhaps the most sensitive index of moral advancement is the position assigned to woman. Never is there a genuine advance that does not leave her more planet and less satellite. Until recently nowhere else in the world did women enjoy the freedom and encouragement they received in America. It is folly, however, to suppose that their lot will not be affected by the presence of six millions from belated Europe and from Asia, where consideration for the weaker sex is certainly not greater than that of the English before the Puritan Reformation.

With most of our Slavic nationalities, it is said, the boy may strike his sister with impunity, but the girl who strikes her brother is likely to be chastised. Few of the later immigrants think of giving the daughter as good a chance as the son. Among the American students in our colleges there are three young men to one young woman. For the native students of foreign fathers the ratio is four to one, and for the foreign-born eight to one. The Italians keep their daughters close, and marry them off very early.

In the 1909 strike of the New York shirt-waist makers, all the nationalities responded to the union ideal save the Italian girls. More than that, hundreds of them slipped into the strikers' jobs. Mystified by the strange, solid resistance of the brown-eyed girls to all entreaties, the strike-leaders visited their homes. There they found that the Italian woman, instead of being a free moral agent, is absolutely subject to the will of her nearest male relative, and the man would not take the wife, sister, or daughter out of the shop unless he was well paid for it.

Eastern European peasants are brutal in the assertion of marital rights, so when the poor immigrant woman, noticing the lot of the American wife, comes to the point of rebelling against the animal family, she runs the risk of rough treatment. Some nationalities are almost Oriental in the way they seclude their women. It is significant that the Ruthenian, Polish, Portuguese, southern Italian, and Greek female employees who have lived here from five to ten years are further behind their men-folk in speaking English than the women from northern and western Europe.

That the woman's movement in America is to meet with hard sledding cannot be doubted. The conservatism of our East has been buttressed by millions of immigrants bred in the coarse peasant philosophy of sex. It may be long before women win in the East the recognition they have won in the more American parts of the country.

Vice

From a half to three-fifths of the immigration between 1868-88 was male, but the new immigration shows a male preponderance of about three to one. Among those from Austria there are 155 males to 100 females. Among those from Hungary the proportion is 161 to 100; from Italy, 191; from Asiatic Turkey, 210; from European Turkey, 769; from the Balkan States, 1107; from Greece, 1192. A quarter of the Polish husbands in industry, a third of the married Slovak and Italian men, nearly half of the Magyars and Russians, three-fifths of the Croatans, three-fourths of the Greeks and Rumanians, and nine-tenths of the Bulgarians, have left their wives in the old country.

Two million more immigrant men than immigrant women! Can any one ask what this leads to? In colonial times the consequences of split-family immigration were so bad that Massachusetts and Connecticut passed laws requiring spouses to return to their mates in England unless they were "come over to make way for their families."

Housing

In the South Side of Pittsburgh there are streets lined with the decent homes of German steel-workers. A glance down the paved passage leading to the rear of the house reveals absolute cleanliness, and four times out of five one glimpses a tree, a flower garden, an arbor, or a mass of vines. In Wood's Run, a few miles away, one finds the Slavic laborers of the Pressed Steel Car Company huddled in dilapidated rented dwellings so noisome and repulsive that one must visit the lower quarters of Canton to meet their like. One cause of the difference is that the Slavs are largely transients, who do nothing to house themselves because they are saving in order to return to their native village.

The fact that a growing proportion of our immigrants, having left families behind them, form no strong local attachments and have no desire to build homes here is one reason why of late the housing problem has become acute in American industrial centers.

Overgrowth of Cities

Not least among the multiplying symptoms of social ill health in this country is the undue growth of cities. A million city-dwellers create ten times the amount of "problem" presented by a million on the farms. Now, as one traverses the gamut that leads from farms to towns, from towns to cities, and from little cities to big, the proportion of American stock steadily diminishes while the foreign stock increases its representation until in the great cities it constitutes three-fourth or even four-fifths of the population.

It is not that the immigrants love streets and crowds. Two-thirds of them are farm bred, but they are dropped down in the cities, and they find it easier to herd there with their fellows than to make their way into the open country. Our cities would be fewer and smaller had they fed on nothing but country-bred Americans. The later alien influx has rushed us into the thick of urban problems, and these are gravest where Americans are fewest. Congestion, misliving, segregation, corruption, and confusion are seen in motley groups like New York, Jersey City, Paterson, and Fall River rather than in native centers like Indianapolis, Columbus, Nashville, and Los Angeles.

Pauperism

Ten years ago two-fifths of the paupers in our almshouses were foreign-born, but most of them had come over in the old careless days when we allowed European poorhouses to send us their inmates. Now that our authorities turn back such as appear likely to become a public charge, the obvious pauper is not entering this country. We know that virtually every Greek in America is self-supporting. The Syrians are said to be singularly independent. The Slavs and the Magyars are sturdy in spirit, and the numerous indigent Hebrews are for the most part cared for by their own race.

Nevertheless, dispensers of charity agree that many southern Italians are landing with the most extravagant ideas of what is coming to them. They apply at once for relief with the air: "Here we are. Now, what are you going to do for us?" They even insist on relief as a right. At home it had been noised about that in foolish America, baskets of food are actually sent in to the needy, and some are coming over expressly to obtain such largess. Probably none are so infected with spiritual hookworm as the immigrants from Naples. It will be recalled that when Garibaldi and his thousand were fighting to break the Bourbon tyranny in the South, the Neapolitians would hurrah for them, but would not even care for the wounded.

Says the Forty-seventh Annual Report of the New York Juvenile Asylum: "It is remarkable that recently arrived immigrants who display small adaptability in American standards are by no means slow in learning about this and other institutions where they may safely leave their children to be fed, clothed, and cared for at the public expense. This is one of the inducements which led them to leave their native land."

Charity experts are very pessimistic as to what we shall see when those who come in their youth have passed their prime and met the cumulative effects of overwork, city life, drink, and vice. Still darker are their forebodings for a second generation, reared too often by ignorant, avaricious rustics lodging in damp cellars, sleeping with

their windows shut, and living on the bad, cheap food of cities. Of the Italians in Boston, Dr. Bushee writes: "they show the beginnings of a degenerate class, such as has been fully developed among the Irish. . . . If allowed to continue in unwholesome conditions, we may be sure that the next generation will bring forth a large crop of dependents, delinquents and defectives to fill up our public institutions."

Says a charity superintendent working in a huge Polish quarter: "It is the second generation that will give us trouble. The parents come with rugged peasant health, and many of them keep their strength even in the slum. But their children often start life weakened physically and mentally by the conditions under which they were reared. They have been raised in close, unsanitary quarters, in overlarge families, by parents who drank up or saved too much, spent too little on the children, or worked them too soon. Their sole salvation is the open country, and they can't be pushed into the country. All of us are aghast at the weak fiber of the second generation. Every year I see the morass of helpless poverty getting bigger. The evil harvest of past mistakes is ripening, but it will take twenty years before we see the worst of it. If immigration were cut off short today, the burden from past neglect and exploitation would go on increasing for years."

The Wayward Child of the Immigrant

In 1908 nine-tenths of the 2,600 complaints of children going wrong made to the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago related to the children of immigrants. It is said that four-fifths of the youths brought before the Juvenile Court of Chicago come from the homes of the foreign-born. In Pittsburgh the proportion is at least two-thirds. However startling these signs of moral breakdown in the families of the new immigrants, there is nothing mysterious about it. The lower the state from which the alien comes, the more of a grotesque he will appear in the shrewd eyes of his partly Americanized children. "Obedience to parents seems to be dying out among the Jews," says a Boston charity visitor. "The children feel it isn't necessary to obey a mother who wears a shawl or a father who wears a full beard." "Sometimes it is the young daughter who rules a Jewish family" observes a Pittsburgh settlement head, "because she alone knows what is 'American.' But see how this results in a great number of Jewish girls going astray. Since the mother continues to shave her head and wear a wig as she did in Poland, the daughter assumes that mother is equally old-fogyish when she insists that a nice girl doesn't paint her face or run with boys in the evening."

Through their knowledge of our speech and ways, the children have a great advantage in their efforts to slip the parental leash. The bad boy tells his father that whipping "doesn't go" in this country.

Reversing the natural order, the child becomes the fount of knowledge, and the parents hang on the lips of their precocious offspring. If the policeman inquires about some escapade or the truant office gives warning, it is the scamp himself who must interpret between parent and officer. The immigrant is braced by certain Old-World loyalties, but his child may grow up loyal to nothing whatever, a rank egoist and an incorrigible who will give us vast trouble before we are done with him.

Still, the child is not always to blame. "Often the homes are so crowded and dirty," says a probation officer, "that no boy can go right. The Slavs save so greedily that their children become disgusted with the wretched home conditions and sleep out." One hears of foreign-born with several boarders sending their children out to beg or to steal coal. In one city investigation showed that only a third of the Italian children taken from school on their fourteenth birthday were needed as bread-winners. Their parents thought only of the sixty cents a week. In another only one-fourteenth of the Italian school children are above the primary grades, and one-eleventh of the Slavic, as against two-fifths of the American school children in grammar grades of high school. Miss Addams tells of a young man from the south of Italy who was mourning the death of his little girl of twelve. In his grief he said quite simply: "She was my oldest kid. In two years she would have supported me, and now I shall have to work five or six years until the next one can do it." He expected to retire permanently at thirty-four.

Insanity Among the Foreign-born

Not only do the foreign-born appear to be more subject to insanity than the native-born, but when insane they are more likely to become a public charge. Of the asylum population they appear to constitute about a third. In New York during the year ending September 30, 1911, 4,218 patients who were immigrants or of immigrant parents were admitted to the insane hospitals of the State. This is three-quarters of the melancholy intake for that year. Only one out of nine of the first admissions from New York City was of native stock. The New York State Hospital Commission declares that "the frequency of insanity in our foreign population is 2.19 times greater than in those of native birth." In New York City it "is 2.48 times that of the native-born."

Excessive insanity is probably a part of the price the foreign-born pay for the opportunities of a strange and stimulating environment, with greater strains than some of them are able to bear. America calls forth powerful reactions in these people. Here they feel themselves in the grasp of giant forces they can neither withstand nor comprehend. The passions and the exertions, the hopes and the fears, the

exultations and despairs, America excites in the immigrant are likely to be intenser than anything he would have experienced in his natal village.

In view of the fact that every year New York cares for 15,000 foreign-born insane at a cost of $3,500,000 and that the State's sad harvest of demented immigrants during the single year 1911 will cost about $8,000,000 before they die or are discharged, there is some offset to be made to the profits drawn from the immigrants by the transporting companies, landlords, real estate men, employers, contractors, brewers, and liquor dealers of the State. All such burdens, however, since they fall upon the public at large, do not detract from or qualify that private or business man's prosperity which it is the office of the true modern statesman to promote.

Immigration and the Separate School

In a polyglot mining town of Minnestota is a superintendent who has made the public school a bigger factor in Americanization than I have found it anywhere else. The law gives him the children until they are sixteen, and he holds them all. His school buildings are civic and social centers. Through the winter, in his high school auditorium, which seats 1,200 persons, he gives a course of entertainment which is self-supporting, although his "talent" for a single evening will cost as much as $200. By means of the 400 foreigners in his night schools he has a grip on the voters which his foes have learned to dread. Under his lead the community has broken the mine-boss collar and won real self-government. The people must trust him and bring him their troubles. He has jurisdiction over everything that can affect the children of the town, and his conception is wide. Wielding both legal and moral authority, he is, as it were, a corporation president and a medieval bishop rolled into one.

This man sets no limit to the transforming power of the public school. He insists that the right sort of schooling will not only alter the expression, but will even change the shape of the skull and the bony formation of the face. In his office is a beautiful tavouret made by a "wild boy" within a year after he had been brought in kicking and screaming. He scoffs at the fear of a lack of patriotism in the foreign-born of their children. He knows just how to create the sentiment. He has flag drills and special programs, and in the Fourth of July parade and the Decoration Day procession the schools have been a fine float. He declares he can build human beings to order, and will not worry about immigration so long as the public school is given a chance at the second generation.

But is the public school to have this chance?

Multitudes of the new immigrants adhere to churches which do not believe in the public schools. "Their pupils," observed a priest to me,

"are like wild children." Said a bishop: "No branches can be safely taught divorced from religion. We believe that geography, history, and even language ought to be presented from our point of view." Hence with great rapidity the children of Roman Catholics are being drawn apart into parochial schools. In Cleveland one-third of the population is supposed to be Catholic, and the 27,500 pupils in the parochial schools are nearly one-third of all school children. In Chicago there are 112,000 in the parish schools to 300,000 in the public schools. In New York the proportion is about one-sixth. In twenty-eight leading American cities the attendance of parish schools increased sixty per cent. between 1879 and 1910, as against an increase of from forty-five to fifty per cent. in the attendance of the public schools. The total number of children in the parochial schools is about 1,400,000. Separate education is a settled Catholic policy, and the bishops say they expect to enroll finally the children of all their people.

To bring this about, the public schools are denounced from the pulpit as "Godless" and "immoral," their product as mannerless and disobedient. "We think," says a Slovak leader, "that the parochial school pupils are more pious, more respectful toward parents and toward all persons in authority." The Polish, Lithuanian, or Slovak priest, less often the German or Bohemian, says bluntly: "If you send your children to the public school, they will go to hell." Sometimes the priest threatens to exclude from the confessional parents who send their children to public school. An archbishop recently decreed that parents who without permission send their children to the public school after they have made their first communion "commit a grievous sin and cannot receive the sacraments of the church." Within the immigrant groups there is active opposition, but it appears to be futile. In a certain district in Chicago where the public school teachers had felt they could hold their own, the foreign mothers came at last to take away their children's school books, weeping because they were forced to transfer their children to the parish school.

Now, the parish school tends to segregate the children of the foreign-born. Parishes are formed for groups of the same speech, so a parish school will embrace children of only one nationality—German, Polish, Bohemian, Lithuanian, Croatan, Slovak, Magyar, Portuguese, or French Canadian, as the case may be. Often priest and teachers have been imported, and only the mother-tongue is used. "English," says a school superintendent," comes to be taught as a purely ornamental language, like French in the public high school." Hence American-born children are leaving school not only unable to read and write English, but scarcely able to speak it. The foreign-speech school, while it binds the young to their parents, to their people, and to the old country, cuts them off from America. Says a Chicago Lithuanian leader: "There are 3,000 of our children in the parochial schools here. The teachers

are ignorant, illiterate spinsters from Lithuania who have studied here two or three years. When at fourteen the pupils quit school, they are no more advanced than the public-school pupils of ten. This is why 50,000 Lithuanians here have only twenty children in the high school."

When, now, to the removal of the second generation from the public school there is added, as is often the case, the endeavor to keep them away from the social center, the small park field-house, the public play-ground, the social settlement the secular American press and welfare work in the factories, it is plain that those optimists who imagine that assimilation of the immigrant is proceeding unhindered are living in a fool's paradise.

Social Decline

"Our descendants," a social worker remarked to me, "will look back on the nineteenth century as our Golden Age, just as we look back on Greece." Thoughtful people whose work takes them into the slime at the bottom of our foreignized cities and industrial centers find decline actually upon us. A visiting nurse who has worked for seven years in the stockyards district of Chicago reports that of late the drinking habit is taking hold of foreign women at an alarming rate. In the saloons there the dignified stein has given way to the beer pail. In the Range towns of Minnesota there are 356 saloons, of which eighty-one are run by native-born, the rest chiefly by recent immigrants. Into a Pennsylvania coal town of 1,800 people, mostly foreign-born, are shipped each week a car-load of beer and a barrel of whiskey. Where the new foreign-born are numerous, women and children frequent the saloons as freely as the men. In the cities family desertion is growing at a great rate among the foreign-born husbands. Facts are justifying the forecast made ten years ago by H. G. Wells: "If things go on as they are going, the great mass of them will remain a very lower class—will remain largely illiterate, industrialized peasants."

A COMPREHENSIVE IMMIGRATION POLICY

(By SIDNEY L. GULICK, D.D., in the *Scientific Monthly*, Volume 6, pages 214-223, January, 1918.)

The need of adequate and wise immigration and Americanization legislation is imperative. Now, while war suspends the tide of newcomers to our shores, is the time for enacting the new laws to regulate the coming of fresh aliens.

No one can foretell how large or small will be the immigration from the war-ravaged countries of Europe when the war ceases. Wages

in America will be high and the demand for cheap labor will be urgent. Immigration companies and steamship lines will seek for fresh sources of cheap labor to bring to America.

The large influx of foreigners in recent years has produced a serious situation. Our laws have not adequately grappled with the many kinds of problems which have arisen. Present laws afford no method of control either of the members or of the race types that may be admitted. We have reason to expect a large immigration of peoples that will prove extremely difficult of Americanization.

Vast masses of aliens in our midst are not Americanized and we have no effective provision for their Americanization. We give them citizenship with very inadequate preparation for it. The procedure in naturalization is needlessly hampered by red tape. We allow serious congestion of race groups. Free immigration from Europe constantly threatens standards of living of American workmen. Differential treatment of, and legislation against, Asiatics produces international irritation. Lack of law makes it impossible for the United States to keep its treaty obligations for the adequate protection of aliens.

These varied dangers threaten the success of our democracy.

We now need a comprehensive and constructive policy for the regulation of all immigration, and the Americanization of all whom we admit, a policy that is based on sound economic, eugenic, political and ethical principles, and a program worked out in detail for incorporating that policy into practise.

If we are to attain the best results we should have a series of bills that deal with all phases of the immigrant question, in a systematic, comprehensive and well-coördinated plan in place of the patchwork incomplete and disconnected legislation that now exists. Our new comprehensive policy, moreover, must take into consideration not merely the relations of America with Europe, Africa and West Asia, but also with China, Japan and India. The world has become so small and travel has become so easy that economic pressure and opportunity are now bringing all the races into inevitable contact and increasing intermixture. To avoid the disastrous consequences of such contacts and inter mixtures, and to enable the United States not only to provide for her own prosperity, but also to make to the whole world her best contribution for human betterment, we need policies that are based upon justice and good will, no less than upon economic and eugenic considerations.

America's political institutions and social organization are based on democracy. There is developing among us, however, a large adult male alien population still owing allegiance to other governments. The last census (1910) shows that out of 5,942,000 foreign-born males in America twenty-one years of age and over, 3,221,000 were still aliens. While 770,000 born in Great Britain had become citizens of the United

States, 449,000 were still British; in the case of Germany 889,000 had become naturalized, while 389,000 were still Germans. Those, however, who come from South Europe seem less ready to become Americans. Austria, for instance, gave us 149,000 naturalized citizens to 460,000 aliens; Hungary 36,000 citizens to 219,000 aliens, and Russia 192,000 citizens to 545,000 aliens; while Italy give us only 126,000 citizens to 586,000 aliens.

How many of these aliens had been here less than five years and therefore were still ineligible for citizenship the table did not show. But, however that may be, it seems wholly undesirable that the proportion of aliens to naturalized citizens from any particular land should be so large as these figures show. Should not the rate of permissible immigration be such as to keep the aliens from any land always in a substantial minority of those from that land who have become American citizens?

OUTLINE OF PROGRAM

We need comprehensive immigration legislation dealing with the entire question in such a way as to conserve American institutions, protect American labor from dangerous economic competition, and promote intelligent and enduring friendliness between America and all the nations, East and West, because free from differential race treatment.

The legislation needed should deal with:

1. The regulation of immigration.
2. The registration of aliens.
3. The distribution of immigrants.
4. The education of aliens for American life.
5. The protection of aliens by the federal government.
6. The naturalization of aliens.

Legislation dealing with these matters should be controlled by the following principles:

1. The United States should so regulate, and, where necessary, restrict immigration as to provide that only so many immigrants of each race or people may be admitted as can be wholesomely Americanized.

2. The number of those individuals of each race of people already in the United States who have become Americanized affords the best basis of the measure for the further immigration of that people.

3. American standards of living should be protected from the dangerous economic competition of immigrants, whether from Europe or from Asia.

4. Such provisions for the care of aliens residing among us should be made as will promote their rapid and genuine Americanization and thus maintain intact our democratic institutions and national unity.

5. The federal government should be empowered by Congress to protect the lives and property of aliens.

6. All legislation dealing with immigration and with resident aliens should be based on justice and goodwill as well as on economic and political considerations.

Important Specifications

1. *Regulation of the Rate of Immigration.* The maximum permissible annual immigration from any people should be a definite per cent. (say five) of those from that people who have already become naturalized citizens, together with all American-born children of immigrants of that people.

2. *A Federal Bureau for the Registration of Aliens.* A Federal Bureau for the Registration of Aliens should be established and all resident aliens should be required to register and to keep registered until they have become American citizens. A registration fee (ten or perhaps five dollars a year) might well be required of all male aliens eighteen years of age or over.

3. *The Federal Distribution Bureau.* The Federal Bureau for the Distribution of Immigrants should be developed and provided with increased funds for larger and more effective methods.

4. *A Federal Bureau for the Education of Aliens.* A Federal Bureau for the Education of Aliens for American Citizenship should be established. While this bureau should not set up its own schools, its duty should be to promote the establishment by local bodies of suitable schools in needful localities and all registered aliens should be given education for citizenship free of cost. The bureau should be provided with funds for subsidies to be granted to schools upon the fulfilment of conditions prescribed by the bureau. The registration fee of aliens might well be reduced by one dollar ($1.00) for every examination passed.

5. *Congressional Legislation for the Adequate Protection of Aliens.* Congress should at once enact a law enabling the federal government to exercise immediate jurisdiction in any case involving the protection of and justice to aliens. The treaties place this responsibility on the federal government, but no laws as yet give it this power. The bill drafted by Hon. Wm. H. Taft and endorsed by the American Bar Association, or some similar bill, should be passed.

6. *Amendment of Naturalization Laws.* The standards of naturalization should be raised. Only those applicants for naturalization should be regarded as qualified who have passed all the examinations of the schools for citizenship and who have maintained their registration without break from the time of their admittance to America. Under the foregoing provisions and rigid limitations as to numbers and

qualifications, naturalization should be given to all who qualify regardless of race.

Would not the above proposals for a Comprehensive and Constructive Immigration Policy coördinate, systematize and rationalize our entire procedure in dealing with immigration, and solve in a fundamental way its most perplexing difficulties? Such a policy would protect American labor from danger of sudden and excessive immigration from any land. It would keep the newcomers of each people always a minority of its Americanized citizens. It would be free from every trace of differential race treatment. Our relations with Japan and China would thus be right.

Such a policy, therefore, giving to every people the "most favored nation treatment," would maintain and deepen our international friendship on every side.

AMERICANIZATION AND IMMIGRATION

(By ROBERT DE C. WARD, in the *Review of Reviews*, May, 1919.)

There is one step which is an absolutely essential part of an Americanization campaign. The problem is difficult enough, at best, to require all the energy, and time, and money that can be given to it. But no thorough Americanization can possibly be accomplished unless the numbers of incoming alien immigrants are kept within reasonable limits. It is an absolutely impossible task properly to (1) educate, (2) assimilate, (3) Americanize and (4) naturalize our foreign-born population if millions forever keep pouring in. It is exactly like trying to keep a leaking boat bailed out without stopping the leak. To expect any reasonable success in this campaign, immigration must be restricted.

The balance of expert opinion on the question of our probable immigration in the years immediately ahead is that, as soon as ocean transportation is again fully established, there will be a far larger immigration than ever before. It is the opinion of American diplomatic and consular officers in Europe, and of competent correspondents who have recently traveled extensively abroad, that there is everywhere a more widespread desire than ever to "go to America." All the arguments which may be urged in favor of a decreased immigration, based on the need of labor for reconstruction and for agriculture abroad, collapse when we remember that the great magnet of "America" will continue to draw immigrants to this "promised land." Our part in feeding and caring for vast numbers of people abroad, and in helping to win the war as liberators of the oppressed, and as ready to sacrifice, if necessary, any number of lives, and endless sums of money for an ideal, will prove new incentives.

Immigration is essentially a matter of economic conditions here and abroad. As the late Gen. Francis Walker so well put it, "the

stream of immigration will flow on as long as there is any difference in economic level between the United States and the most degraded communities abroad." A recent writer, after considerable study of the subject, has put the probable annual number of immigrants who will soon be coming here at 2,000,000. Be that as it may, the most enthusiastic believer in the success of the Americanization movement can hardly face the prospect of a steady annual immigration of even only several hundred thousands without doubt and discouragement. To hope to accomplish successful Americanization when the supply of aliens keeps up is to have an optimism "beyond all bounds of reason." A real restriction of immigration is a necessary and a logical part of the Americanization program.

Temporary Decrease Due to the War

The effect of the war in temporarily diminishing the volume of immigration to the United State was, of course, expected. From an annual immigration of nearly a million and a half during the fiscal years 1913 and 1914, and an annual net increase in alien population (i. e., deducting the numbers of those who returned to their own countries) of 800,000, the number of immigrant aliens fell to a little over 325,000 during the year ending June 30, 1915. In the fiscal years 1916 and 1917, about 300,000 came, while in the year ending June 30 last the number of immigrant aliens was only 110,000.

While 110,000 is a very small immigration as compared with the very much larger numbers in the years preceding the war, it is worth noting that these alien immigrants arrived at the rate of more than 2,000 a week and nearly 10,000 a month.

From July to November, 1918, the number of immigrant aliens was 45,909, and of nonimmigrant aliens 30,456. How all these immigrants have managed to get here during wartime is mystery. Obstacles innumerable have been in their way yet they have kept coming. That they have done so, in spite of the difficulties, shows what is likely to happen on a vastly greater scale in the next few years, when transportation by rail and steamship is once more fully restored.

It has always been held by those who are concerned regarding the admission into the United States of mentally and physically defective aliens that, with a smaller number of alien arrivals, the work of inspection can be more effectively done, with the inevitable and greatly to be desired result that fewer undesirables will escape detection. Our experience during the war has borne out this view. The increase in the percentage of rejections during the past four years is to be ascribed, according to the Commissioner-General of Immigra-

tion, to two causes: first, a deterioration in the quality of immigration itself; and second, to more rigid inspection made possible by decreased numbers.

In the earlier days of the war there was a large emigration from the United States of men belonging to the various belligerent countries who went home to fight. The majority of these will naturally come back. As soon as transportation conditions become more normal, there will be a further considerable exodus from the United States of both men and women belonging to the nations which have been at war. These recent immigrants will go home to ascertain the fate of their relatives and friends; to see what has become of their family property, and to bring back with them to this country as many as possible of their families and friends still left abroad.

PROPOSED MEASURES OF RESTRICTION

The most certain prospect of a greatly increased immigration closely following the ending of the war; the manifest injustice of exposing our returning soldiers and sailors to competition with the low-priced labor of Europe and of Western Asia, and the conviction that our present immigration law is selective rather than numerically restrictive, have naturally resulted in a widespread demand for immediate further legislation which shall really limit the number of our alien immigrants. During the Short Session of the Congress which ended on March 4, 1919, the Immigration Committee of the House of Representatives reported a bill (H. R. 15302, Union Calendar No. 339; Report No. 1015), suspending immigration for four years, with many exceptions in the cases of certain professional classes; the near relatives of aliens now in, or who have become citizens of the United States; aliens from Canada, Newfoundland, Cuba and Mexico; aliens who are refugees because of various kinds of persecution, and aliens admitted temporarily under regulations to be prescribed. No action was taken on this bill.

At the hearings which were given by the House Committee on Immigration, the bill was strongly advocated by the American Federation of Labor and by other organizations which stand for the maintenance of American wages and of American standards of living, and which, especially in view of demobilization and of the dangers of unemployment, wish to prevent, at least temporarily the influx of large numbers of alien workers.

The line-up of the opponents of the bill was the same as in previous years. The old argument was used that there is already enough restriction, and it was urged that there should be more hearings, and further delay. Organizations from whose sympathies the hyphen has

by no means been eliminated, and "interests" directly or indirectly concerned with cheap labor and with transportation, were represented among those who spoke against the pending measure. One of the opponents, representing certain labor bodies composed of recent immigrants, maintained that the more immigrants and the more other labor we have in this country, the higher will be the wages of the workers, and the higher will be the general standard of living!

Another bill, which was not reported (H. R. 11280), based on the conviction that one of the best tests of assimilation is the wish to become naturalized, limits the number of aliens to be admitted from any country in any year to from 20 to 50 per cent. of the persons born in such country who were naturalized at the date of the last census. The exact per cent. is to be fixed annually by the Secretary of Labor with reference to existing labor conditions in the United States. The percentage plan has the merits of being more than a temporary "reconstruction" measure and of being sufficiently elastic to respond to varying economic conditions.

That a further real restriction of immigration is necessary for the best interests of American labor, and for the proper assimilation and Americanization of our heterogenous population, has long been obvious to the large majority of those, both Americans and foreigners, who have impartially studied our immigration problems.

Idealists Have Not Solved the Problem

Our attitude on this question of immigration should be clearly defined. Sentiment will never solve this, or any other great national problem. There is no place here for the idealist who shudders at the mere thought of a further regulation of immigration, and who, holding fast to the vision of the universal brotherhood of man, calls "ungenerous" and "un-American" anyone who suggests any further immigration legislation.

The idealist points out what an enormous debt our country owes to its foreign-born citizens. He is constantly reminding us of the remarkable achievements of foreign-born in our public schools. He has absolute confidence in our capacity to assimilate all people, of all lands, who choose to come here. He believes in the "melting pot," where race hatred and race differences are to be forever done away with. He produces such endless statistics to show that our recent immigrants are far ahead of the native-born in all that pertains to good citizenship that the rest of us sometimes cannot help wondering how our ancestors, of Anglo-Saxon stock, who originally settled the United States, ever had the genius and the wisdom and the courage to fight the Revolutionary War or to develop our American democratic government.

Yet the idealist is obviously inconsistent when he says that he believes in keeping the United States forever the "asylum and the refuge for the down-trodden and oppressed of all nations." He does not really believe in a "haven" open, unrestrictedly, to all comers. He does not want to admit, unreservedly, the insane, the idiot, the criminal, the prostitute, or those who have "loathsome or dangerous disease." Few of his group want our doors wide open, for all time, to the incoming of millions upon millions of Chinese, Japanese and Hindus. He is beginning to realize that, owing chiefly to his persistent opposition to the enactment of adequate immigration laws, his "asylum," of which he has said so much is becoming an insane asylum, and his "refuge" is turning into an almshouse and a penitentiary.

OPEN-DOOR POLICIES "UNGENEROUS" AND "UN-AMERICAN"

Not immigration restriction but indiscriminate hospitality to immigrants is the "ungenerous" and "Un-American policy." To grant free admission to all who want to come may give us, for the moment, a comfortable feeling that we are providing a "refuge for the oppressed." But it is in the highest degree "ungenerous" in us, the custodians of the future heritage of our race, to permit to land on our shores mental, physical and moral defectives, who, themselves and through their descendants, will not only lower the standards of our own people, but will tremendously increase all future problems of public and private philanthropy. It is in the highest degree "Un-American" for us to permit any such influx of alien immigrants as will make the process of Americanization any more difficult than it already is.

Again, our so-called "traditional" policy of admitting practically all who have wished to come has not helped the introduction of political, social, economic, and educational reforms abroad, but has rather delayed the progress of these very movements in which we Americans are so interested. Had some of the millions of European immigrants remained at home, they would have insisted on reforms in their own countries which have been delayed, decade after decade, because the discontent of Europe found a safety-valve by flying to America. Have we, in any way, helped the progress of all these reforms abroad by keeping the safety-valve open?

By encouraging the discontented millions of Europe and Asia to come here after the war, are we likely to hasten, or to delay, the development of enlightened social democracies in Armenia, in Syria, in Hungary, in Poland, in Russia, in Turkey? Our duty as Americans, interested in the world-wide progress of education, of religious liberty, and of democratic institutions, is to do everything in our power to

help the discontented millions of Europe and Asia to work out, in their own countries, for themselves, what our forefathers worked out here, for us. That would be the greatest contribution we could make to the progress and preservation of American ideals.

FUTURE OF AMERICAN IDEALS

(By Prescott F. Hall, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Immigration Restriction League, in the *North American Review*, Volume 195, pages 94-102. January, 1912.)

This movement of peoples from the Old World to the New is on a scale unprecendented in History, and its effects cannot fail to be profound and far-reaching. What will they be?

Americans have hitherto paid very little attention to this question: first, because they have not considered the difference between hostile and peaceful invasions in history; and second, because they fail to observe that recent immigration is of an entirely different kind from that which our fathers knew. The earlier immigration having been of kindred races and having produced no profound changes, our people became used to the phenomenon and took it as a matter of course. At the present time, most of us consider that the movement now going on is similar to that which has been, and anticipate results no different from those previously observed.

If the million people coming every year came not as peaceful travelers, but as an invading hostile army public opinion would be very different to what it is; and yet history shows that it has usually been the peaceful migrations and not the conquering armies which have undermined and changed the institutions of peoples. To take the classical error on this subject, we have been told repeatedly that, on the one hand, it was the conquering Goths and Vandals, and on the other hand, their own vice and luxury, which cost the Romans their empire. The real cause of the fall of Rome was neither of these things. It was the constant infiltration into Roman citizenship of large numbers of "barbarians"—that is, of races alien in instincts and habits of thought and action to the races which had built up the Roman Empire.

The "barbarians" of the present time, however, do not come from the plateaus of central Asia of from the jungles of Africa; they are the defective and delinquent classes of Europe—the individuals, who have not been able to keep the pace at home and have fallen into the lower strata of its civilization.

Formerly, America was a hard place to get to, and a hard life awaited those who came, although the free and fertile land offered rich prizes

to those with the energy to grasp them. Today the steamship agent is in every little town in Europe; fast steamers can bring thousands in a few days, and wages, often indeed not enough for an American to live decently on, but large in the ears of the poor European peasants, await the immigrant on landing. There is, moreover, abundant testimony to the fact that much of the present immigration is not even a normal flow of population, but is artificially stimulated in every possible way by the transportation companies which have many millions invested in the traffic.

Those who believe that we can assimilate all the aliens who may come usually qualify their belief by saying that, although we may not succeed entirely with the parents, we can succeed with the children, and that the salvation of the situation is the public school. They also point out that many immigrants have had little opportunity for improvement in their own countries and may develop rapidly in a new environment. Now just as the Latin races make a fetish of the State, we Americans are apt to make a fetish of education, and we constantly fail to discriminate between education as the molding of character and education as the imparting of information. Far the larger part of a child's education comes from his home and his companions, rather than from his schooling. Emulation and imitation are the two mainsprings of his growth. We should never forget the somewhat hackneyed truth that education in general, brings out what is in the man, be it good or bad, and seldom puts much there which was not there before. For this reason it is very questionable whether the small amount of schooling the children of most aliens receive plays a very large part in the total of influences brought to bear upon them; and it is still more debatable whether it appreciably alters their characters, or does anything more than bring out their inherited instincts and tendencies. Undoubtedly immigrant children crowd our schools because it aids them in the struggle for existence, and is usually paid for by some one else. Undoubtedly, also, many of them obtain high marks and show considerable capacity for storing up information.

Nevertheless, as has been said, schooling is but a small part of the influences to which the child is subject, and the tendency of recent immigrants to crowd into the cities and to settle in racial groups means that a very large part of the influences affecting the children will be those of their neighbors and co-workers of the same race. As in John Bunyan's parable, a small quantity of oil poured secretly and steadily upon a fire will cause it to withstand a large quantity of water poured upon it from all directions. Moreover, to a great extent this water of public-school education will fail to quench hereditary passions, because the latter are so strong that the former will be

vaporized, so to speak, and pass off without closely touching them. Dr. Gustav LeBon, in his "Political Psychology," has thus expressed this phase of the matter:

"Education merely sums up the results of a civilization; the institutions and the beliefs representing the needs of such civilization. If, then, a civilization does not harmonize with the ideas and sentiments of a people, the education setting forth this civilization will remain without effect upon it; in the same way that institutions corresponding to certain needs will not correspond to different needs."

The result in such a case will be, not a true amalgamation of races, but a mixture of peoples as in Austria-Hungary, living side by side, sharing certain interests in common, but never wholly merging into a general national type.

Can we not already see certain effects of the newer immigration upon our social life? In many places the Continental Sunday, with its games and sports, its theatrical and musical performances, and its open bars, is taking the place of the Puritan Sabbath. In some of our factory towns there are many operatives living under the system of free marriage, and in at least one place the method of building tenements has been altered to correspond to this system. Professor Commons notes that we have already to despotize our institutions in order to deal with large masses of citizens not capable of intelligently supporting representative government.

We have to contend not only with alien habits and ideas, and with the fact that these differences cannot be effaced by education in one or even two generations, but also with the fact that we are getting a great many immigrants who are below the mental, moral, and physical average of both our country and their own. A recent writer in a leading German review has said: "The immigration of the last decade has increased the number of hands, but not the number of heads, in the United States." While this may be an extreme statement, there is the unanimous testimony of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, the Commission, which has recently spent several years studying the matter, to the fact that for one immigrant whose defects are so marked as to put him in the classes excluded by law there are hundreds, if not thousands, who are below the average of our people, and who, as George William Curtis put it, are "watering the nation's life blood."

Recent investigations in eugenics show that heredity is a much more important factor than environment as regards social conditions—in fact, that in most cases heredity is what makes the environment. This is confirmed by the practice of the insurance companies which attach the chief importance to the heredity characteristics of an individual. If this position is sound, education and distribution can only palliate the evils and delay fundamental changes. As Professor Karl Pearson says: "You cannot change the leopard's spots, and you cannot

change bad stock to good; you may dilute it, possibly spread it over a large area, spoiling good stock, but until it ceases to multiply it will not cease to be."

Intelligent foreigners, like Bourger, H. G. Wells, and LeBon, are continually surprised that Americans pay so little regard to these matters. Already our neighbor to the north has become much more strict as to those she admits than we are; and in fact, the Dominion is now rejecting at the border many whom we have admitted.

IMMIGRATION AND THE AMERICAN LABORING CLASSES

(By JOHN MITCHELL, in the *Annals of the American Academy*, Volume 34, pages 125-29, July, 1909.

In discussing the subject of The Relationship of Immigration to the Condition of the Laboring Classes in the United States, I want to present the matter from the standpoint of a workman. I have spent all my life either as a workingman or as an employee of workingmen; hence I have had an unusual opportunity to observe the influence of immigration upon the standards of living among workingmen.

At the outset I wish to lay down the fundamental proposition that a low standard of living is not compatible with a high race development. I have absolutely no prejudice against the immigrant; I have no sympathy with the spirit that has made a slogan of the words, "America for the Americans." While I am an American in all that the word implies, I believe that we should welcome to our country all the white races from every part of the earth; provided, however, that in coming here these immigrants do not lower our American standard of living; and provided further, that they be admitted only in such numbers as will make it possible to assimilate them and bring them up, within a reasonable time, to the standards of life and labor which have been established here.

Those who are familiar with the migration of races from one country to another know that in the early history of this republic every healthy immigrant arriving upon our shores was an asset to us; but during the past ten or fifteen years immigration has increased so rapidly and has reached such stupendous proportions that many of these immigrants, instead of being assets, are in reality liabilities. A man is of value to this country only so long as his presence here makes for the betterment of the people and the institutions of the country. If more immigrants are admitted than are required to fill unoccupied positions, and if, as a consequence, they are compelled by their necessities to compete with Americans for positions, and if as a result of such competition the

standard of living is lowered, then such immigration will not make for either the commercial or the moral advancement of the people of our country.

During the past ten years, 8,525,000 immigrants have been admitted to the United States. More people have come to America in the past ten years than have gone from one country to another heretofore during any one hundred years. In ten years the net gain in our population from immigration alone has been nearly 6,000,000. I submit that notwithstanding the unprecedented development of this country and the unusual opportunities existing here, we cannot assimilate five or six million people every ten years. Last December, as a result of the most careful investigation, it was ascertained that in the United States there were some 2,000,000 men out of work. At the present time it is safe to say that there are still approximately 2,000,000 persons in enforced idleness. Yet, in the face of this, during the past three months the immigration to this country has been at the rate of 1,000,000 annually. About 200,000 immigrants have been admitted during this period. They have come at a time when 2,000,000 persons, principally Americans, are on the streets looking for work. Surely these immigrants, arriving under such conditions, contribute nothing to the commercial, intellectual, or moral advancement of our country or its people.

We Americans are prone to speak with disrespect of the tramp; we characterize him as a "hobo," and frequently we call him a criminal. When I was quite a young boy, I, with many others, was thrown out of employment, our places having been given to immigrants who would work cheaper. Being unable to secure work at a living wage nearer home, I was compelled to travel, walking most of the way, nearly 1,500 miles in search of employment. During this journey I saw hundreds of men walking from place to place looking for work, and I have seen them forced to ask for bread. In no case did I ever see a man ask for bread without observing that the effect upon him was most degrading and demoralizing. In begging for food a man's sense of pride and shame suffers a most serious shock, and in time it is entirely destroyed. Finally he becomes accustomed to the new invironment and often joins permanently the army of tramps and mendicants.

It may not be uninteresting to observe that while looking for work myself and during the many years of my activity as a leader of working men, I have never seen a newly-arrived immigrant tramping the highways seeking employment. On the surface, this statement may seem to be a tribute to the immigrant; but, as a matter of fact, properly interpreted, it means that the newly-arrived immigrant has underbid the American workman and secured his job. He has sent the American workman "on the road" by taking the place he held at a rate of wages lower than the American would accept. It may be said in answer that the American should work for as low wages as the immigrant; that

half a loaf is better than no bread. But there is a standard of ethics among American workmen which deters them from working for less than the established rate; they would rather tramp than reduce the wage scale or lower the standard of living. In this position they are right, because if they reduced the wage scale to keep themselves employed, it would be a question of only a short time before the entire wage scale would be lowered and the standard of life and labor among all workingmen would deteriorate.

Conditions in America are not so favorable now for a large immigration as they were years ago. In the early times immigrants could be so distributed throughout our cities and rural communities that the Americans and those with American standards remained in such ascendency that they were able to assimilate the immigrants, thus maintaining the standard of living, and no harm was done. But during the past twenty years the immigrant has not been distributed promiscuously throughout the country; on the contrary, he has been colonized, and there are many communities in which scarcely a word of English is now spoken. We find in our large cities, districts called "Little Hungary," "Little Italy," the "Ghetto," and in these colonies the people live practically as they lived in the countries from which they came.

In the coal fields of Pennsylvania, in which mining was formerly carried on by Americans, or by English-speaking immigrants, an entire transformation has taken place. About thirty-five years ago emigrations were started from southern Europe and these men were put to work mining coal at one end of the great anthracite valley. Those of you who have read the history of the Huns and the Vandals and how they overran the countries of Europe, can see in Pennsylvania a peaceful repetition of that invasion. Slowly but surely these men from southern Europe, coming year by year in ever-increasing numbers, drove before them the miners and mine workers who preceded them as workmen in the coal fields. Not a violent blow was struck; not an unlawful act committed; but just as surely as, in the history of nations, one race ever over-ran another, these people from southern Europe over-ran the English-speaking people of the coal fields. They drove them from town to town and from district to district, until the English-speaking miners made their last stand at the upper end of the valley, where mining ceases and the coal out-crops. In a few years more they will have disappeared altogether. They have been driven entirely from their homes and the homes of their ancestors. The whole region is now populated by non-English-speaking people. Cities with a population of 20,000 are just the same as are some of the cities in southern Europe. Children are being reared amidst surroundings which will retard for two or three generations their assimilation and their development into real Americans.

OUR FUTURE IMMIGRATION POLICY

(By Frederic C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York, in *Scribner's Magazine*, Volume 61, pages 542-46, May, 1917.)

The outstanding feature of our immigration policy has been its negative character. The immigrant is expected to look out for himself. Up to the present time legislation has been guided by conditions which prevailed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We have permitted the immigrant to come; only recently has he been examined for physical, mental and moral defects at the port of debarkation, and then he has been permitted to land and go where he willed. This was the practice in colonial days. It has been continued without essential change down to the present time. It was a policy which worked reasonably well in earlier times, when the immigrant passed from the ship to land to be had from the Indians, or in later generations from the government.

And from generation to generation the immigrant moved westward, just beyond the line of settlement, where he found a homestead awaiting his labor. These were the years of Anglo-Saxon, of German, of Scandinavian, of north European settlement, when the immigration to this country was almost exclusively from the same stock. And so long as land was to be had for the asking there was no immigration problem. The individual States were eager for settlers to develop their resources. There were few large cities. Industry was just beginning. There was relatively little poverty, while the tenements and slums of our cities and mining districts had not yet appeared. This was the period of the "old immigration," as it is called; the immigration from the north of Europe, from the same stock that had made the original settlements in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the South; it was the same stock that settled Ohio and the Middle West, Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas.

The "old immigration" from northern Europe ceased to be predominant in the closing years of the last century. Then the tide shifted to southern Europe, to Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Poland, and the Balkans. A new strain was being added to our Anglo-Saxon, Germanic stock. The "new immigration" did not speak our language. It was unfamiliar with self-government. It was largely illiterate. And with this shift from the "old immigration" to the "new," immigration increased in volume. In 1892 the total immigration was 579,663; in 1894 it fell to 285,631. As late as 1900 it was but 448,572. Then it began to rise. In 1903 it was 857,046; in 1905 it reached the million mark; and from that time down to the outbreak of the war the total immigration averaged close on to a million a year, the total arrivals in 1914 being 1,218,480. Almost all of the increase came from southern Europe, over 70 per cent of the total being from the Latin and Slavic

countries. In 1914 Austria contributed 134,831 people. Hungary 143,321; Italy 283,734; Russia 255,660; while the United Kingdom contributed 73,417; Germany 35,734; Norway 8,299; and Sweden 14,800.

For twenty years the predominant immigration has been from south and central Europe. And it is this "new immigration," so called, that has created the "immigration problem." It is largely responsible for the agitation for restrictive legislation on the part of persons fearful of the admixture of races, of the difficulties of assimilation, of the high illiteracy of the southern group; and most of all for the opposition on the part of organized labor to the competition of the unskilled army of men who settle in the cities, who go to the mines, and who struggle for the existing jobs in competition with those already here. For the newcomer has to find work quickly. He has exhausted what little resources he had in transportation. In the great majority of cases his transportation has been advanced by friends and relatives already here, who have lured him to this country by descriptions of better economic conditions, greater opportunities for himself, and especially the new life which opens up to his children. And this overseas competition is a serious problem to American labor, especially in the iron and steel industries, in the mining districts, in railroad and other constructon work, into which employments the foreigners largely go.

How seriously the workers and our cities are burdened with this new immigration from south and central Europe is indicated by the fact that 56 per cent of the foreign-born population in this country is in the States to the east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio Rivers, to which at least 80 per cent. of the present incoming immigrants are destined. In the larger cities between 70 and 80 per cent of the population is either foreign-born or immediately descended from persons of foreign birth. In New York City 78.6 per cent of the people are of foreign birth or immediate foreign extraction. In Boston the percentage is 74.2, in Cleveland 75.8, and in Chicago 77.5. In the mining districts the percentage is even higher. In other words, almost all of the immigration of the last twenty years has gone to the cities, to industry, to mining. Here the immigrant competes with organized labor. He burdens our inadequate housing accommodations. He congests the tenements. He is at least a problem for democracy.

In my opinion, immigration to the United States will be profoundly influenced by big land-colonization projects of the European nations. It may be that large numbers of men with their savings will be lured away from the United States. As a result, agricultural produce in the United States may be materially reduced. Even now there is a great shortage of agricultural labor, while tenancy has been increasing at a very rapid rate. And America may be confronted with the immediate necessity of competing with Europe to keep people in this country. A measure is now before Congress looking to the development of farm colo-

nies, in which the government will acquire large stretches of land to be sold on easy terms of payment to would-be farmers, who are permitted to repay the initial cost in instalments covering a long period of years. Similar measures are under discussion in California, in which State a comprehensive investigation has been made of the subject of tenancy and the possibility of farm settlement. Looking in the same direction are the declarations of many farmers' organizations throughout the West for taxing of land as a means of ending land monoply and land speculation. This is one of the cardinal planks in the platform of the non-partisan organization of farmers of North Dakota which swept the State in the last election. Every branch of the government was captured by the farmers, whose platform declared for the untaxing of all kinds of farm-improvements and an increase in the tax rate of unimproved land as a means of developing the State and ending the ide-land speculation which prevails.

If such a policy as this were adopted for the nation as a whole; if the idle land now held out of use were opened up to settlement; if the government were to provide ready-made farms to be paid for upon easy terms, and if, along with this, facilities for marketing, for terminals, for slaughter-houses, and for agencies for bringing the produce of the farms to the markets were provided, not only would agriculture be given a fillip which it badly needs but the congestion of our cities and the immigration problem would be open to easy solution. Then for many generations to come land would be available in abundance. For America could support many times its present population if the resources of the country were opened up to use. Germany with 67,000,000 people could be placed inside of Texas. And Texas is but one of forty-eight States. Under such a policy the government could direct immigration to places of profitable settlement; it could relieve the congestion of the cities and Americanize the immigrant under conditions similar to those which prevailed from the first landing in New England down to the enclosure of the continent in the closing days of the last century. For the immigration problem is and always has been an economic problem. And back of all other conditions of national well-being is the proper relation of the people to the land.

SELECTION OF IMMIGRANTS

(By Edward T. Devine, in the *Survey*, Volume 25, pages 715-16, February 4, 1911.)

On the main subject the Immigration Commission has spoken clearly and its recommendation should become law. There must be effective restriction and selection for the purpose of maintaining American

standards of living. In reply to the demand for a more rigorous selection of immigrants we hear two mutually contradictory assertions. One is that there are not enough immigrants to do any harm—after allowance is made for those who return. The other is that we have no standards anyway,—at least that there is no one who has a right to speak for them, as we are all immigrants of a first, or a later, generation. Both assertions are untenable. There are, in fact, American standards, transplanted in part on our own soil, influenced by the reaction of other standards in other nations, and yet distinctively American—standards moral, political, and economic; standards unique and precious, worth fighting for; worth, if need be, dying for; worth preserving at all hazards for ourselves and our children, and yet not selfishly for our sake and theirs only, but also as a sacred duty towards mankind; and these standards are gravely imperilled by the annual addition of an unsifted million of newcomers whose standards are different from ours.

We do have a right to assert vigorously the value of our national heritage, and, though it may seem old-fashioned to say it, we do have a sacred duty to transmit it unimpaired—which is not to say unchanged —to our posterity. To some extent this heritage is one of race. Its creators gave it to us with their blood. It has been enriched by many crossings of races, but biologists tell us that mingling within limits is beneficial, beyond those limits productive only of a mongrel and degenerate breed. Let no one read into this expression of national responsibility for American standards a shred of bigotry or prejudice against any of the peoples of the earth. Modern social ideals are neither provincial nor sectarian. It is precisely because of a passionate attachment to the true interests of humanity that social workers may look with profound distrust upon the demand for cheap immigrant labor. Genuine humane sentiment is not inconsistent with the maintenance of community and national standards.

Employers of the exploiting type make no mistake, from their own point of view, when they demand cheap immigrant labor. They can figure it out with great precision. They know that as a rule this labor is less skillful, less intelligent, less efficient, less inherently desirable, than the native labor or the earlier immigrant labor from more closely related peoples. But there are great compensations. It is the very best labor in one particular. It can be exploited. That is the whole disagreeable truth in a nutshell. Lower wages, longer hours, crowded living quarters, fewer claimants in case of death or injury from accidents, less trade union "nonsense," fewer trade disputes, less sympathy from the disinterested public for the laborer's side when there is a dispute, less public concern generally as to what is happening in the mill when the laborers are foreigners—such are some of the considerations which throw the balance in favor of immigrant labor. The wages demanded are enough lower to give an ample

margin for more effective supervision. The general tendency of improved machinery is to decrease relatively the demand for skilled labor, thus permitting the profitable employment of fresh supplies of entirely unskilled, but physically strong, immigrants. Out on the railways of the Northwest the first object for which immigrants will strike is for the privilege of working twelve hours instead of ten, and the next is for the privilege of working on Sunday. In this instance employers, paying by the hour and not having expensive mills in operation, resist the demand, for the labor of the eleventh and twelfth hours is relatively unproductive. The men are already exhausted. To laborers of a higher standard the leisure for physical recuperation would be worth more than the small addition to their wages. To these men the money is more important. Here we have a simple, but perfect, illustration of that conflict of standards to which the nation as a whole cannot afford to be indifferent.

It is then in the ultimate and in the very immediate interests of the oppressed and struggling everywhere that America should maintain her standards. She may give generously from her surplus. She may enlighten by her example. She may throw her influence and if necessary exert her might against oppression. But one thing she may not do: extinguish the light with which she is to enlighten the world. To lower our own standards is the only treason. To reduce the position of our workingmen to that of the communities from which our immigration is coming is to destroy, perhaps forever, the very power to serve.

There should be no opposition or rivalry between the policy of selection and the policy of distribution and assimilation by every practicable device. Both are essential. No restriction, which is at all likely to be adopted will sensibly diminish the need for such aid both by philanthropy and by government. Good hard thinking as to how best to assimilate those whom we already have and those who are certain to come even under a policy of much more strict selection is of the utmost importance. Except for the Educational Alliance, the Industrial Removal Society, and the Society for the Protection of Italian Immigrants, there has been almost no instructive experiment and scarcely any clear thinking on this subject. Let these experiments by all means be greatly extended, but let us be modest about calling any of them as yet a "true solution of the immigration question." Under the conditions of actual life we shall have to deal in partial solutions, among which, as we have intimated, the recommendation of the Immigrant Commission as to restriction deserves prompt and favorable consideration.

The illiteracy test is crude and unsatisfactory but it is practicable and humane. As a rule ambitious illiterates desiring to migrate can overcome this disqualification and the fact of their having done so will augur well for their future success in the land of their adoption.

THE WAR AND IMMIGRATION

(By FRANK JULIAN WARNE, in the *Annals of the American Academy*, Volume 61, pages 30-39, September, 1915.)

Every European war during the past one hundred years has been followed by increased immigration to the United States. The struggles of the Napoleonic period were the first of these, and following their termination there swept onto our shores the first large volume of immigration. Next came the wars of the European revolutionary period when the oppressed populations, freed by the corporal-emperor from the age-long superstition of the divine right of kings, attempted to throw off the yoke of monarchy. Being mostly unsuccessful these also resulted in increased immigration to the United States. Among these were the Polish revolution against Russia, that of the Bohemians against Germany, the Hungarian revolution, the Belgian insurrection, the wars of Italy, and the revolutionary outbreaks in Germany. The great wars of Prussia and in the sixties and seventies against the Danes, then the Austrians, and later the French, also increased our immigration.

When the present great war is at an end—when the populations of Europe are released from fighting and freed from the manacles of militarism—when they are at liberty to take up again their peaceful occupations—Europe will not be what it was before the war began. Economic maladjustment will have set in, burdensome taxes with which to meet the cost of the struggle will be levied by all the governments; capital will have been destroyed, even anticipated income will have been spent, and harsh economic conditions will ensue among the people. Economic distress will be inevitable. All this is no prophecy. It is merely the teaching of past wars.

But it is not so much the situation in Europe following this war as the conditions in the United States that must be regarded as the determining factor in considering the probabilities as to future immigration.

There are many disputed points about immigration but it cannot be disputed that present-day immigration moves and is governed by economic conditions in the facilities for reaching the country to which the alien migrates more than by adverse conditions in his home country. Both the statistics of immigration of any particular country and those of immigration and emigration of the United States government prove this conclusively. Nearly every report upon emigration from Europe made by United States consuls substantiates this statement.

The extremely close relation which the development of ocean transportation has brought about between European countries and the United States has made the masses of Europe peculiarly sensitive to

the economic and especially the industrial conditions in this country. It has in particular affected, and continues to affect even more strikingly than formerly, the volume of our immigration. At the present time immigration reflects, with the accuracy of a tide gauge, the rise and fall in our industrial prosperity. If one knew nothing at all about our panics and periods of business revival, he would be able to tell the years of their occurrence and the length of time their effects continued merely by studying closely the statistics of immigration. This is much more true today than in years past. It is to be expected that at the close of the war the great trans-Atlantic steamships, which have become mere ferry boats plying between the two sides of the Atlantic, in that the immigrant can now reach the United States within at most ten days or two weeks, will resums their trade.

And when they do they will be confronted by one of the most remarkable industrial revivals this country has ever experienced. It would take too long and try your patience too much to attempt to introduce here the evidence on this point. All we have to do, however, to be convinced, is to remember that this is not the Millennium; that the United States has hardly begun the development of its material resources; that these are in such abundance as to give to us wealth beyond human comprehension; that there is a Tomorrow when the enormous amount of capital now being destroyed will be replaced; that this country even under the stress of European war conditions is accumulating a surplus of capital unprecedented in its history and that this capital, when released from the fetters of fear, will start industry and business on an era of development and expansion which will more than make up for the present period of retardation.

Immigration has steadily declined since the outbreak of the war until in April it was not one-fourth what it was in April, 1914, the decrease being from more than 142,000 to about 32,000 monthly arrivals. Emigration also has decreased—from about 50,000 in April, 1914, to about 18,000 in April, 1915. For the months of August, November, December and January, emigration exceeded immigration by more than 34,000—that is, this many more departed than arrived.

We should take advantage of today's temporary cessation in immigration to erect proper means of defense against the probable inundation of tomorrow. And as a part of these measures of defense there should be created by federal legislation such governmental machinery as will, in coöperation with state and private employment bureaus, give us in the future a more or less accurate measurement of the anticipated needs of American industries for this rough, unskilled immigrant labor at the standard or American rate of wages. The demand being thus ascertained the supply can be regulated to this measurement by legislative enactment through already existing administrative machinery. In this way the present haphazard system, which now invariably

operates to produce an over-supply of this labor in all our industrial centers, can be coördinated and made to work for our common good instead of to our social injury. Already we have the nucleus around which this machinery can be built. This is the Division of Information of the Bureau of Immigration of the Department of Labor of the United States government. In addition to its reorganization along the lines indicated, it should be given supervision over all private employment agencies and so-called labor exchanges engaged in interstate commerce.

In the face of the facts should we not subordinate sympathy for the immigrant to that humanitarianism which holds that America's highest duty to mankind is to make the great experiment of an educated democracy the most triumphant success that can possibly be attained? Shall we permit sympathy for the immigrant to determine our decision as to the proper course we should take in our policy towards future immigration? By all means this great movement of peoples should be restricted by legislation within the narrow channel of the legitimate demand of our industries for unskilled labor. It should not be permitted any longer to rush in helter-skelter to flood our American industries with its cheap labor and our industrial centers with its low standard of living.

THE ETHICS OF IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION

(By PRESCOTT F. HALL, Secretary of the Immigration Restriction League.)

Restriction of immigration can be justified from two points of view. The first point of view is, that any political unit has the right to exclude whatever will not help it to a higher development than it now has. Probably the world is not yet ready for eugenic ideals such as Messrs. Pearson and Galton are preaching in England, whether they be by regulation of marriage or by preserving the purity of certain races. So let us pass to the second point of view.

This is, that any political unit has the right to protect itself from the invasion of anything tending to retard its normal life and development, whether it be noxious weeds or animals, germs of infectious disease, immoral books, immoral people, criminals, or persons whose presence tends to lower the average of intelligence, political capacity, or mental and physical health.

This right has never been questioned legally; it is an inherent attribute of sovereignty. It rests on the proposition that a political and social community is the creation and property of those who have established and developed it, and that they have the right to say who shall be admitted into its life. The nation is larger, but not unlike

the state, the city, the church, the club, the family. In these smaller units the right to regulate admission is unquestioned. The college, for example, is by no means indifferent to educational tests for admission to its privileges.

Now, if the facts show, as I believe they do, that a considerable proportion of the immigrants coming today are below the average of our citizenship, mentally, morally and physically, and if they have tended to lower that average, why is it ungenerous to say, "You shall not come faster than we can lift you to our level or higher, and those of you who are very far below our level shall not come until they fit themselves for our conditions." Observe the question which the college president raises is not one of fact but of the moral law. He proclaims that restriction of immigration is ungenerous no matter what the quality of that immigration is.

Now, if a thing is ungenerous, it must be because it is ungenerous toward somebody. Restriction of immigration, under the assumed state of facts, is certainly not ungenerous to the native-born in the United States, nor to the foreign-born already here. Is it ungenerous to the intending immigrants, who may soon number two millions a year? That must be considered in connection with the effect of exclusion upon all the population of the other countries. If the standard of civilization and progress which the United States stands for were lowered, either by thinning the life blood of the people or by supplanting the existing races by others whose ideals are different, the damage to the rest of the world might be admitted. For nations, like individuals, progress by emulation and imitation, and if there is nothing of value to imitate, such progress becomes delayed.

To sum up, the open hand may not be the most generous attitude, either toward our foreign-born citizens, toward present immigrants, toward future immigrants, or toward the world at large. In the words of Phillips Brooks: "If the world, in the great march of centuries, is going to be richer for the development of a certain national character, built up by a larger type of manhood here, then for the world's sake, for the sake of every nation that would pour in upon it that which would disturb that development, we have a right to stand guard over it."

IMMIGRATION'S INJURY TO LABOR

(From the *Literary Digest.*)

Having excluded the invading horde of Chinese and Japanese labor, the next on the list, according to high authorities on immigration, are the Slovak, Croatian, Magyar, Herzegovinian, Lithuanian, Rumanian, Greek, and Pole, who stand knocking at the other gate. Their crime

consists in living so cheaply as to undercut American wages and threaten all American labor with a bunkhouse and garlic standard of living. In a book by Jeremiah W. Jenks and W. Jett Lauck on "The Immigration Problem" we are shown a pretty serious picture. Dr. Jenks is professor of economics at Cornell University, and he and his aide, who have widely investigated the matter, remind us that just as "the wise development of a country is to a very great extent dependent upon the economic opportunity afforded to the wage-earning citizen for his material, mental, and moral development," so is this opportunity dependent to a great extent upon a progressive improvement in his standard of living."

The arguments advanced against the immigrant hitherto have been chiefly of a criminological or sanitary nature. People have objected to the poor immigrant on the grounds that he was unclean, the bearer of infectious disease, a "bad mixer," and the like. But the point established by Mr. Jenks and Mr. Lauck, and driven home again and again, is only this: that the poor immigrant is an injury, a wrong, to the economic and social development of our race. He cheapens labor; he lowers the ideals of labor, and he makes the lot of the American laboring man impossible.

Can the industrious American citizen, with an American family to support, reduce his cost of living to between $5.00 and $7.00 a month? Can he go for days upon a diet of bread, macaroni, and bologna sausage? Can he and his wife and children live in "an attractive hut" of discarded powder cans? Probably not, but all this is done by the average immigrant landing on our shores. The first thing that happens to this "average immigrant," we read, is to be gobbled up by an unscrupulous labor agency and then, with a gang of other like unfortunates, to be shipped out West on construction work. Here he finds life unique at least. In the average railroad camp, we are informed:

"Freight cars, fitted up inside with from eight to ten bunks, are used as sleeping quarters. Separate cars are used as kitchens and as dining rooms. The bunks in the sleeping cars have been roughly put together, four in either end of each car, leaving ample space in the middle even when two extra bunks are crowded in. There is usually a table in this clear space where the men play cards and sometimes eat instead of in the regular mess car. Even with the ten men in one car, they could not be described as crowded."

Thus is the standard of living cheapened and lowered, and its continuation, we are assured, would "be detrimental not merely to our own people, but any lowering of the standard of living in this country could not fail to have a depressing effect in other sections of the world."

More and more popular is the growing demand for foreign labor, but, as the Immigration Commission itself pointed out, "a demand for

labor is in itself no sure sign that the welfare of the country would be promoted by additional laborers."

Cures for this "growing evil" are many, but the "most effective way of guarding against it," urge Messrs. Jenks and Lauck, is simply this:

"The adoption of further restrictions upon immigration, even though it may not be necessary that such restrictions be maintained for any great length of time."

IMMIGRATION WHEN THE WAR ENDS

(Editorial in the *World's Work*, Volume 30, page 636-7, October, 1915.)

Between June 30, 1913, and June 30, 1914, the excess of immigration over emigration was 584,675. Between June, 1914, and June, 1915, it was 50,000. Another year of the war means that another twelve months will bring us no added hands for unskilled labor.

Since the war began, despite booms in certain activities we have not needed the usual annual complement of immigrants. Industrially we have been better off without them. But with the growing activity in business and transportation we may begin to feel the drying up of our raw labor supply.

During the last twenty years we have averaged a net immigration of about 1,000,000 a year in good times and about 700,000 a year in bad. Even in 1893, 502,917 aliens came to our shores, and in 1907 the total was 1,285,349. We have not in fifty years had two years in succession with as little increase in our raw labor supply as 50,000 a year. As long as the war lasts we shall have to do without the increase of laborers to which we have become accustomed. Even after the war is over, some people seem to think, all of Europe's available labor supply will be needed at home. Probably it will, but probably also, the labor will not want to stay there.

Labor cannot get profitable work unless capital is there to supply it, and in many of the European countries capital will be very scarce when this war is over. In all probability the largest sum of capital least impaired will be in the United States, and that capital will call loudly for labor. It is reasonable to look forward after the war to a great stream of immigration.

We have had commissions study the matter. The facts are well known.

The Russian Jews, the southern Italians, certain Austrian subjects do not make good citizens rapidly. They are easily exploited in the labor market. They have poor standards of living and almost no standards of citizenship. Their inabilities force a paternalism either upon their employers, which is dangerous, or upon our state and city government, which is inconsistent with our practice of democracy.

If we leave our immigration laws as they are at present we shall give after the war, the maximum impetus to our construction work, steel industry, etc., to the detriment of the Nation's political ability.

If we limit the immigration we shall also limit certain "industrial progress," but we shall at the same time maintain a higher level of citizenship and ward off the more acute attack of social indigestion which the advent of these immigrants brings with them.

There is some disposition to look upon the United States as an asylum for the oppressed. That is a very creditable institution but we should not get it confused with a home for the unfit.

Under our democracy a man gets much and in turn we ask more initiative from him than do the paternal governments of Continental Europe. Our system can be overloaded if it takes in too many people who do not understand it, and we shall be in danger of that overloading when the war is over unless we guard ourselves against it.

SELF-PRESERVATION OF THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASSES

(By SAMUEL GOMPERS, President of the American Federation of Labor.)

The American-born wage earners and the foreign wage earners who have been here long enough to aspire to American standards are subject to the ruinous competition of an unending stream of men freshly arriving from foreign lands who are accustomed to so low a grade of living that they can underbid the wage earners established in this country and still save money. Whole communities, in fact whole regions, have witnessed a rapid deterioration in the mode of living of their working classes consequent on the incoming of the swarms of lifelong poverty-stricken aliens. Entire industries have seen the percentage of newly arrived laborers rising, until in certain regions few American men can at present be found among the unskilled.

On behalf of American labor it is to be said that the action of the trade unions in this country on this most delicate international question involves a step that touches the heart of every man contemplating it. That step, the advocacy of exclusion, is not prompted by any assumption of superior virtue over our foreign brothers. We disavow for American organized labor the holding of any vulgar or unworthy prejudices against the foreigner. We recognize the noble possibilities in the poorest of the children of the earth who come to us from European lands. We know that their civilization is sufficiently near our own to bring their descendants in one generation up to the general level of the best American citizenship. It is not on account of their assumed inferiority, or through any pusillanimous contempt for their abject poverty, that, most reluctantly, the lines have been drawn by America's workingmen against the indiscriminate admission of aliens to this country. It is simply a case of the self-preservation of the American working classes.

References—Negative

IMMIGRATION AND AMERICAN LABOR

(By Isaac A. Hourwhich, Ph.D.)

It is recognized on all sides that the present movement for restriction of immigration has a purely economic object: the restriction of competition in the labor market. Organized labor demands the extension of the protectionist policy to the home market in which "hands"—the laborer's only commodity—are offered for sale. The advocates of restriction believe that every immigrant admitted to this country takes the place of some American workingman. At the inception of the restrictionist movement, in the 80's and the early 90's, they were avowedly opposed to immigration in general. The subsequent decline of immigration from the British Isles, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries and the increase of immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe have diverted the attack from immigration in general to the "new immigration," from Southern and Eastern Europe and the Asiatic provinces of Turkey. Yet while the root of all evil is now sought in the racial makeup of the new immigration, as contrasted with the old, every objection is an echo of the complaints which were made at an earlier day against the then new immigration from Ireland, Germany, and even from England. Three quarters of a century ago, as today, the only good immigrants were the dead immigrants.

There is no real ground for the popular opinion that the immigrants of the present generation are drawn from a poorer class than their predecessors. It is a historical fact that prior to 1820 the great majority of the immigrants were too poor to prepay their passage, which never cost as much as $50 per steerage passenger; the usual way for a poor man to secure transportation for himself and family was to contract to be sold into servitude after arrival. The next generation of immigrants was not much better off. According to contemporary testimony, the millions of Irish and Germans who came in the middle of the nineteenth century were ignorant and accustomed to a very low standard of living. Since the races of Southern and Eastern Europe have become predominant among immigrants to the United States, the steerage rates have been doubled, the increase being equivalent to a heavy head tax. The higher cost of transportation must have raised the financial standard of the new immigration, as compared with the immigrants of the 70's and the early 80's. This inference is borne out by the fact that the percentage of illiteracy is much lower among the

immigrants than among their countrymen who remain at home. Illiteracy is generally the effect of poverty. The higher literacy of the immigrant may be accepted as evidence that economically the immigrant must be above the average of his mother country.

The complaint that the new immigrants do not easily "assimilate" is also as old as immigration itself. Today the Germans are reckoned by courtesy among the "English-speaking races." But as late as the middle of the nineteenth century the growth of German colonies in all large cities caused the same apprehension in the minds of their American contemporaries as the Jewish, the Italian, and the Slav colonies of our day. Statistics show, however, that the new immigrant races number among them as large a percentage of English-speaking persons as the Germans who have lived in the United States the same length of time.

The only real difference between the old immigration and the new is that of numbers. To the workman who complains that he has been crowded out of his job by another, it would afford little comfort to feel that the man who had taken his place was of Teuton or Celtic, rather than of Latin or Slav stock. The true reason why the "old immigration" is preferred is that there is very much less of it.

As stated, the demand for restriction proceeds from the assumption that the American labor market is overstocked by immigration. Comparative statistics of industry and population in the United States show, however, that immigration merely follows opportunities for employment. In times of business expansion immigrants enter in increasing numbers; in times of business depression their numbers decline. The immigration movement is further balanced by emigration from the United States. As a rule, the causes which retard immigration also accelerate the return movement from this country. It is customary to condemn the "Bird of Passage," but so long as there are variations in business activity from season to season and from year to year, the American wage-earner has no cause to complain of the immigrants who choose to leave this country temporarily while there is no demand for their services, thereby reducing unemployment in its acutest stage.

It is broadly asserted by restriction advocates that the hundreds of thousands of Slav, Italian, Greek, Syrian, and other immigrant mine and mill workers have been "imported" by capitalists—in other words, that they are all contract laborers. This belief offers to the student of folk-lore a typical example of twentieth century myth-building. None of the official investigations of immigration has disclosed any evidence of importation of laborers under contract on a large scale, although prior to the enactment of the law of 1885 excluding contract laborers there was no reason to conceal the fact. It is quite conceivable that in the case of a strike a great corporation might have resorted to the importation of a large force of strikebreakers regardless of cost. As

a general rule, however, with hundreds of thousands of immigrants coming to this country annually, it would be a waste of money to "induce" immigration. The few actual violations of the contract labor law that elude the vigilance of the immigration authorities cannot effect the labor market.

The real agents who regulate the immigration movement are the millions of earlier immigrants already in the United States. It is they that advance the cost of passage of a large proportion of the new immigrants. When the outlook for employment is good, they send for their relatives, or encourage their friends to come. When the demand for labor is slack, the foreign-born workman must hold his savings in reserve, to provide for possible loss of employment. At such times no wage-earner will assume the burden of providing for a relative or friend, who might for a long time be unable to secure employment. It is in this way that the business situation in the United States reacts upon the volume of immigration. The fluctuating supply of immigrant labor, like that of any other commodity, may sometimes outrun the demand and at other times lag behind it, yet, if we compare the totals for industrial cycles, comprising years of panic, of depression, and of prosperity, within the past sixty years, we find that the ratio of immigration to population has been well-night constant. In the long run immigration adjusts itself to the demand for labor.

The relation between immigration and unemployment may be summed up in the following propositions: Unemployment and immigration are the effects of economic forces working in opposite directions: those which produce business expansion reduce unemployment and attract immigration; those which produce business depression increase unemployment and reduce immigration.

Yet it may be said that while immigration is not a contributory cause of unemployment, restriction of immigration might nevertheless reduce unemployment. This supposition is negatived by the experience of Australia, where emigration exceeds immigration. Australia is a new country with an area as great as that of the United States, while its population at the census of 1906 was half a million short of the population of New York City at the census of 1910. Yet Australia has as much unemployment as the State of New York, which is teeming with immigrants. It is evident that unemployment is produced by the modern organization of industry even in the absence of immigration.

There is a widespread belief that, although on the whole the United States is in need of immigrant labor, "the new immigration" has a tendency to stagnate in the overpopulated cities, while there is a keen demand for hands in agricultural sections. A retrospective view of the history of immigration shows that this tendency is not peculiar to the "new immigration." For the past ninety years public men and

social theorists have sought to relieve unemployment in the cities by directing the current of immigration to the farm, but the immigrants have always preferred to seek employment in the cities. The popular mind which accounts for individual conduct by the "free will" of the individual applies the same criterion to social phenomena: the Italians and the Slavs concentrate in the cities because they have a "racial tendency" to concentrate in the cities. The most of the immigrants of those nationalities have grown up in agricultural communities and that many of them after working a few years in a great American city return home and go back to the soil, argues against the assumption of a "racial" dislike for agriculture. The real cause of the concentration of immigrants in the cities is economic. Even the "desirable" immigrant from Northern and Western Europe who lands with a capital of fifty and odd dollars lacks the funds to rent a farm. At best he can obtain employment only as a farm hand. Since the early days of Irish and German immigration, however, the growing industries of the cities have offered a better market for labor than agriculture.

The effect of immigration upon labor in the United States has been a readjustment of the population on the scale of occupations. The majority of Americans of native parentage are engaged in farming, in business, in the professions, and in clerical pursuits. The majority of the immigrants, on the other hand, are industrial wage-earners. Only in exceptional cases has this readjustment been attended by actual displacement of the native or Americanized wage-earner. In the course of industrial evolution some trades have declined owing to the introduction of new methods of production. In such cases there was naturally a decrease of the number of native as well as of foreign-born workers. As a rule, however, the supply of immigrant labor has been absorbed by the increasing demand for labor in all industries without leaving a surplus sufficient to displace the native or older immigrant wage-earner. There were but a few occupations which showed an actual, not a relative decrease of native Americans of native stock. This decrease was due to the disinclination of the young generation to follow the pursuits of their fathers; the new accessions from native stock were insufficient to replace the older men as they were dying off, and the vacancies were gradually filled up by immigrants. But for every position given up by a native American there were many new openings filled by native American wage-earners.

There is absolutely no statistical proof of an oversupply of unskilled labor resulting in the displacement of native by immigrant laborers. No decrease of the number of common laborers among the native white of native or foreign parentage appears in any of the great States which serve as receptacles for immigration. The same is true of miners. In none of the States affected by the new immigration has there been a decrease in the number of native miners. Such States as Pennsyl-

vania and Illinois showed large increases in the number of native miners, both of foreign and native parentage. The iron and steel mills are another industry from which the recent immigrants are popularly believed to have forced out the native workmen and older English-speaking immigrants. The fact is, that in the earlier period of the industry, when immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe was negligible, the number of American employees increased very slowly; during the recent period, on the contrary, since the immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe have been coming in large numbers, the number of American-born employees of every nativity has more than doubled. The increased employment of native Americans is recorded in the figures for every important iron and steel-producing State, as well as for every city holding a leading place in the iron and steel industry. The effect of immigration upon the occupational distribution of the industrial wage-earners has been the elevation of the English-speaking workmen to the status of an aristocracy of labor, while the immigrants have been employed to perform the rough work of all industries. Though the introduction of machinery has had the tendency to reduce the relative number of skilled mechanics, yet the rapid pace of industrial expansion has increased the number of skilled and supervisory positions so fast that practically all the English-speaking employees have had the opportunity to rise on the scale of occupations. This opportunity, however, was conditioned upon a corresponding increase of the total operating force. It is only because the new immigration has furnished the class of unskilled laborers that the native workmen and older immigrants have been raised to the plane of an aristocracy of labor.

The real explanation of the decrease in the number of immigrants from Northern and Western Europe in the occupations which rank lowest in the social scale is that the earlier immigrants have worked their way upward. Among the breadwinners born in Northern and Western Europe, farmers, business men, professional men, and skilled mechanics outnumber those who are employed in the coarser grades of labor. The latter have been left to immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe.

The results of the preceding discussion of immigration and labor can be summed up as follows:

(1) Recent immigration has displaced none of the native American wage-earners or of the earlier immigrants, but has only covered the shortage of labor resulting from the excess of the demand over the domestic supply.

(2) Immigration varies inversely with unemployment; it has not increased the rate of unemployment.

(3) The standard of living of the recent immigrants is lower than the standard of living of the past generations of immigrants engaged

in the same occupations. Recent immigration has not lowered the standard of living of Americans and older immigrant wage-earners.

(4) Recent immigration has not reduced the rates of wages, nor has it prevented an increase in the rates of wages; it has pushed the native and older immigrant wage-earners upward on the scale of occupations.

(5) The hours of labor have been reduced contemporaneously with recent immigration.

(6) The membership of labor organizations has grown apace with recent immigration; the new immigrants have contributed their proportionate quota to the membership of every labor organization which has not discriminated against them, and they have firmly stood by their organizations in every contest.

There is consequently no specific "immigration problem." There is a general labor problem, which comprises many special problems, such as organization of labor, reduction of hours of labor, child labor, unemployment, prevention of work-accidents, etc. None of these problems being affected by immigration, their solutions cannot be advanced by restriction or even by complete prohibition of immigration.

The advocates of restriction are conscious of the fact that without immigration the industrial expansion of the past twenty years would have been impossible. But they believe that the pace of progress has been too fast and that the interests of labor would be furthered by a slower development of industry which would dispense with Southern and Eastern European unskilled laborers. This is the gist of the recommendations of the Immigration Commission.

The weak point in this argument is that it takes no cognizance of the cardinal principle of modern division of labor, viz., that in every industrial establishment there is a fixed proportion of skilled to unskilled laborers. Were the immigration of skilled mechanics to continue as heretofore, while the expansion of the industry slowed down in consequence of a reduced supply of unskilled labor, a corresponding proportion of the skilled immigrants could find no employment at their trades. The skilled crafts whose organizations favor the exclusion of unskilled immigrants would be the first to suffer the consequence. The effects of the disproportion in the immigrant labor supply would be temporary, but a slow growth of industry would tend to curtail the opportunities for advancement of the wage-earners who are already here.

On the other hand, the unemployed could gain nothing from a slow growth of industry. Seasonal and cyclical variations in the general demand for labor, as well as variations in the demands of individual employers would continue on a reduced scale of national production. The mere exclusion of unskilled immigrants, and even of all immigrants, will not provide employment for sailors in the winter, or for

the full winter force of a Wisconsin logging camp in the summer; nor will it revolutionize the world of fashion. In order to provide regular employment for all workers, it would be necessary to run all industries upon a common time schedule, like railway trains are run on connecting lines. No plan of such a readjustment has as yet been worked out that would appeal to practical people, nor are the advocates of immigration restriction ready to incorporate Edward Bellamy's scheme into the pending immigration bill. Certainly an adjustment of the busy and slack seasons of a quarter of a million factories will not spring up spontaneously from an act of Congress closing the gates aginst immigrants.

IMMIGRATION AND AMERICAN LABOR

(By Harris Weinstock, State Market Director of California, in the *Annals of the American Academy*, Volume 69, pages 66-71, January, 1917.)

Most of us are opposed to all monoplies except our own. The officials of organized labor, being a part of us, can therefore hardly be blamed for being opposed to the encouragment of immigration. These officials feel exactly as merchants and professional men would feel if they were asked to help to increase the number of their competitors, and to that degree to invite decreased earnings.

The natural feeling on the part of organized labor officials is that a large influx of immigrants brings lowered wages and more hands to do the work, and thus less work for each pair of hands to do. When hard times come, they claim that these conditions simply aggravate the problem of unemployment.

The officials of organized labor are the leading proponents in the claim that immigration has largely been responsible for the existing state of industrial unrest; that it has been the largest single factor in preventing the wage scale from rising as rapidly as food prices; that it has done much to prevent the development of better relations between employers and employees; that it has greatly hampered the formation of trade unions and has increased the problem of securing responsible organizations.

I said that the officials of organized labor are opposed to immigration. No man knows what is the attitude on this question on the part of the rank and file of the three million trade unionists, since to my knowledge there has never been a trade union referendum taken to learn their attitude. It is quite likely that such trade unionists many of whom are immigrants or the immediate descendants of immigrants, would favor giving the same opportunities for betterment to their European kith and kin that they have been permitted to enjoy.

What the worker in this country needs is the widest opportunity for employment and the greatest demand for the output of his handiwork.

Imagine the population of this nation reduced from one hundred million to say fifty million. It must be plain that under such circumstances the home consumption for the output of American labor would be cut in half and opportunities for employment on the part of the remaining 50 per cent. of the population would be reduced accordingly.

On the other hand, imagine the population of the nation in due course doubled. This would double the home demand for labor's output. The increased output would lessen cost of production and thus tend to widen our world markets.

A great cry over the scarcity of labor comes from the farmer, more especially of the West. This very harvest season has seen a call for harvest hands at offers of wages almost prohibitory to the farmer, and yet the farm labor demand was not supplied. Let this condition go on and in the near future farming would become so unprofitable as to cut down the acreage under cultivation, not only because of the scarcity of new labor, but also because much of the present farm labor would be lured to the cities on account of the higher wages offered and the greater city attractions. This in turn would spell yet higher costs for food, putting a still greater burden on the consumer.

The European War has revolutionized world conditions. When it shall have been brought to an end, Europe will find herself poor indeed.

The world's greatest asset is its men. This most valuable of all assets is being steadily decimated by being killed off and crippled in Europe by the hundreds of thousands. When peace shall have been restored, the nations will find themselves handicapped not only by the loss of millions of able-bodied workers carried off by the bullet and by disease, but also by other millions of men who through loss of limb and of productive power will have become burdens.

There will be the greatest scarcity of able-bodied men to carry on the great work of restoring European industry and the ravages of war.

It is plain to foresee that the governments of Europe must establish conditions that will conserve for themselves what remains of their brawn and muscle. Every possible step will most likely be taken to put a ban upon emigration of the able-bodied, and anyone who will encourage such emigration will be regarded as an enemy to the country and doubtless treated as such.

Meanwhile, while the warring countries of Europe are impoverishing themselves in men and in money, the United States is waxing rich as never before in its history. Its wealth will keep on growing to proportions never dreamed of by the wildest visionary. This vastly

increased wealth must be profitably employed and can best be profitably employed by the development of our many yet undeveloped natural resources.

How are these great resources to be developed without an adequate labor supply? How are we to build our canals, our reservoirs and our railways? How are we to develop our mines, cut down our forests, build our ships, colonize our lands and conduct the potential great industrial enterprises now in sight, without added supply of brawn and muscle? Unless all this is done, the opportunities for still greater betterment on the part of the labor now with us are minimized.

We may deplore the fact, but the fact nevertheless remains, that our American-born workers look with more or less disdain upon the handling of the pick and shovel. Whatever the causes may be, they do not and will not perform the unavoidable tasks inseparable from the development of great natural resources by being "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

Imagine how impossible it would have been, for example, to build the Panama Canal within even a lifetime, if none but American citizens were to have been employed as common laborers. Had there not been available a supply of Jamacian negroes, Spanish, Mexican and other common labor, the completion of the Canal in all likelihood would have been postponed for a decade or more, to the loss of the entire world. As it was, remunerative employment for several years was afforded thousands of American citizens during the construction of the Canal as foremen, as engineers, and in all the positions of trust and responsibility.

Another problem affected by immigration is that of domestic service. Cut off the supply of house servants by restricting immigration and you further aggravate, more especially in the West, the great existing problem of securing domestic help. Already the cry of the American housewife has gone abroad that the supply is entirely inadequate to meet the demand. The lack of efficient servants and the great increase in their wage have caused a famine in this line of activity. Again the fact remains that for social and other reasons American girls will not, as a rule, enter domestic service. The shorter hours, the alleged higher social standing, the greater freedom offered by the shop, the store and the office are decimating the ranks from which domestics were formerly recruited. This change in conditions is in the nature of a menace to the American home.

Untold thousands of salaried men and small tradesmen who could formerly afford to employ one or more domestic servants find that these have become luxuries beyond their means. The home is therefore in thousands of instances being abandoned all over the land for the boarding-house or the hotel. Children, formerly reared in private, surrounded by proper home influences, are now destined to be raised

in cheap hotels or boarding-houses, with all their consequent ills on childhood. Conditions such as these must in time cause "our new graves to become more numerous than our cradles." The only recruiting ground for domestic help remains in Europe.

Minimize immigration and you still further aggravate the existing problem of domestic service.

There is today throughout industrial centers a labor famine, caused partly by the cessation of immigration and partly due to many able-bodied men of foreign birth leaving the United States to fight the battles of their native land. This labor famine is limiting the possibilities of industrial and agricultural development and is simply a forecast of what would follow a still further limitation of immigration. The unprecedented industrial and agricultural expansion which has taken place in this country in recent decades is primarily due to immigration. Without it, development along such lines would long since have ceased.

The possibilities in all directions in this country are as yet limitless. We can better appreciate this when we realize that the State of Texas with England's density of population could alone accommodate the people of the entire United States.

Every able-bodied male or female producer, literate or illiterate, that can be brought to this country with sound body and good character is an added asset.

It has been pointed out that a first class black slave was worth before the Civil War, $1,500. How much more then should a healthy, able-bodied, free, white man be worth to the country?

It is true that at times our congested centers are seemingly overloaded with labor. A goodly percentage of this overload will be found to be among seasonal workers, temporarily out of employment because of climatic conditions, as well as the disabled, the incompetent, the unwilling, or the victims of drink, drugs or disease.

These conditions could in a measure be minimized if we were to follow the plan pursued by the Argentine Republic and other South American countries, which furnish free transportation within their borders to new arrivals in order to minimize labor congestion.

It is not a question so much of giving population across the sea so large a place in our regard and in our hospitality, as it is a question of seeking the welfare and development of our own nation, and all its wonderful resources.

We are told that immigration tends to beat down wages; but the fact remains that wages have advanced more rapidly and hours of labor have been shortened more during the periods of our greatest European immigration than in any previous period in our industrial history.

It has been pointed out that eighty-five per cent. of all labor in the slaughtering and packing industries is done by alien laborers. They mine seven-tenths of our bituminous coal. They do 78 per cent. of the work in the woolen mills, nine-tenths of all the labor in the cotton mills, and make nineteen-twentieths of all the clothing. Immigrants make more than half the shoes in the country. They turn out four-fifths of our furniture, half the tobacco and cigars and nearly all of our sugar. In the iron and steel industries, immigrants share all the risks.

The workman at one time looked upon the invention of every labor-saving device as a menace and a competitor likely to rob him of his job. Time has shown that, instead of robbing men of labor, these devices have created untold new avenues of labor. The lessened cost of production made possible by labor-saving devices has greatly increased consumption and thus in turn tremendously increased the demand for labor.

The immigrant, by furnishing the needed labor, opens out new productive possibilities that otherwise would remain closed, so that instead of robbing those here of work, his presence makes new and still more abundant work possible.

Despite the alleged excessive immigration of recent decades, the fact remains that the ratio between foreign and native-born during the past fifty years remains substantially the same. The census shows that in 1860 the foreign-born were 13.2 per cent. of the population, and in 1910 were but 14.7 per cent. Wages are higher, working hours shorter, and standards of living far in advance in the United States today compared with 1860.

It has been pointed out that immigrants have a passion for educating their children. The United States Commissioner of Education tells us in a Bulletin that the least illiterate element of our children is the native-born children of foreign-born parents. The illiteracy among the children of native-born parents is three times as great as that among the native-born children of foreign-born parents.

We find then that labor leaders and those who sympathize with their point of view are not warranted by the facts in opposing immigration. We find that our industrial needs, our agricultural needs, our domestic needs, all demand that we shall continue to extend the hand of welcome to every decent, able-bodied man and woman who is willing to come and work among us. We find that the greatest progress we have made in trade, in industry, in commerce, in agriculture, in education, in the arts and sciences and in social welfare has been made during the decades when immigration in this country has been greatest. We believe that ample provision has been made by law to keep out the mentally, morally and physically unfit. We believe that these laws should be rigidly enforced and that if the present machinery for doing

so is inadequate it should be bettered and perfected. We believe that in order to make still greater progress along all lines of human endeavor, we can with perfect safety and advantage to ourselves and to our children, as well as to the advantage of the fit immigrants and their children, invite them to be of us and with us for their good and for ours.

MAKING REAL AMERICANS OUT OF MANY RACES

(By H. H. WHEATON, Chairman Executive Committee, National Committee of One Hundred, in the *Review of Reviews* for August, 1918.)

"Thank God, I—I also—am an American," exclaimed Daniel Webster, at the close of his great oration on the completion of the Bunker Hill Monument. America's greatest orator thus epitomized in one line all the devotion, all the patriotic spirit, all the comprehension that a native-born son can have for the liberty, the democracy, the institutions, the government, the ideals, the traditions, and the destiny of the peoples of the New World. In these words were the profoundest sentiment, the noblest inspiration, the finest feeling, which any man can express for his country.

For the American of native birth that sentiment is inborn. For the man of foreign birth it must largely be inculcated. While he may, on arrival, have an instinctive appreciation of some of the things America stands for, still to make the instinct thoroughly American, it must be cultivated through experience with and participation in those things constantly at work in the making of a newer and greater America. On the sands of the desert is the oasis, but the traveler must dig the well before he may quench his thrist. The traveler to America —the immigrant's Promised Land—comes thirsting to taste of that wonderful thing we call democracy, to drink from the fountain of human happiness called Liberty.

How shall he find the fountain, and when found, from what cup shall he drink? By what process can he be inspired to exclaim, "Thank God, I—I also—am an American!"

THE HUMAN STREAM AT ELLIS ISLAND

One day I stood at Ellis Island and watched a steamer pouring forth an unbroken stream of humanity. What a stream! In it were men through whose veins flowed the life-blood of the centuries, from whose throats came strange sounds, sounds older than the tower of Babel, sounds that have survived its ruins.

Came Magyars in that line, whose nomadic ancestors, sweeping westward with the sun, invaded Europe in the days of Charlemagne; Poles,

from the land of Kosciusko and Pulaski, whose republican tendencies were the fear of Europe and whose desire to regain their national autonomy makes a powerful appeal to the civilized world; Italians, whose independence was secured under the fiery leadership of Garibaldi; Greeks, whose love for liberty and democracy surviving through the centuries, threw off the yoke of Turkish despotism at last in the nineteenth century; Slavs, whose captive comrades tramped with bound feet through the snows of Siberia. Past the immigration inspectors walked Ruthenians, Frenchmen, Rumanians, Albanians, Macedonians, Bulgarians, Belgians, Serbians, Spaniards, Finns, Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Ethiopians, and Orientals.

Thus did the Old World contribute to the New, pouring forth men of every race and clime. Until the beginning of the present war, a never-ending stream of human beings invaded our shores, speaking over a hundred languages and dialects, dressed in highly colored apparel, bringing strange customs, thinking different thoughts, following other ideals, believing old beliefs, maintaining ancient traditions, representing still older civilizations.

By what wonderful process could this mass of peoples be converted into a united nation maintaining the ideals and traditions of America—the New World?

The war has brought Americanization before the country in ways never dreamed of heretofore. Back of the fighting line in France must be at all times a united country. National unity is the internal line of defense and is indispensable to success in the war. Americanization in its large sense is the process whereby national unity is to be achieved. It is the evolution of a people—the making of "one from many"—"E Pluribus Unum."

Before the war we were as Americans sanguine about our capacity to assimilate one million immigrants a year. But the world's crisis trying the souls of men and testing the fabric of nations has shown us our deficiencies. The truth began to come home when it was found that 1,243,801 alien males were registered under the selective draft law and could claim exemption from military service. Yet we are fighting for the safety and preservation of the native countries from which many of these aliens came. It seems a curious irony that Americans—native-born could be compelled to fight in behalf of the very countries from which these aliens came, while under existing treaties we could not compel them to fight with us for the safety of their own native countries or of the country in which they now had elected to make their living.

Drafted Aliens Unable to Speak English

It is to the credit of 123,277 aliens and declarants holding their naturalization papers that they did not set up a plea of exemption on

the grounds of alienage, thus permitting themselves to be certified for military service in the first draft. But here is the striking thing —34 per cent. of the alien males of draft age, i. e., from twenty-one to thirty years of age, inclusive, were in 1910 unable to speak the English language. It is fair to presume that the percentage was not substantially reduced from 1910 until the outbreak of the war, but if anything, actually increased on account of the immigration from non-English-speaking countries during that period. In other words, using this percentage as approximately correct, then at least 442,892 of the aliens registered under the selective draft were more or less unable to speak the common language of this country. We did not, however, realize this until the 34 per cent. of those certified for actual service got into the cantonments and training was attempted in English.

FOREIGN-BORN LABOR AND THE WAR

The war has shown us that any weakness in our industrial army is a menace to the internal line of defense. Back of the fighting line stand the industries which furnish and transport the munitions and materials of war. Without these America could not maintain an army in France. On this inability Germany counted for a factor in her success. Germany, through her phychological bureau, saw what we did not see—that the productive power of our industries, was wielded by men of foreign birth, not by native-born Americans. Fortunately for us, she attempted without success to set up against us the eight million persons of foreign birth engaged in gainful occupations in this country.

Upon the iron and steel industry we are dependent for guns, shells, bullets, machinery, and other engines of war. But the reports of the United States Commission of Immigration show that 57 per cent. of the employees engaged in the iron and steel industries were of foreign birth. We are dependent upon coal to turn the wheels of these industries, yet 61 per cent. of the miners of soft coal were foreign-born. We must clothe our soldiers at the front, yet 72 per cent. of the operatives in the four largest clothing manufacturing centers were foreign-born. We are dependent upon our railroads to get all war materials to the shipping docks, yet 66 2-3 per cent. of the construction and maintenance work on our transportation lines is done by the foreign-born laborer.

NATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL ASPECTS OF AMERICANIZATION

In war or peace the unity of a people depends upon a community of language, ideals, and citizenship.

An analysis of immigration to this country shows that in recent years it has largely been non-English-speaking. In 1910, over three million were unable to use the language of the United States. Since that time over four million have arrived from non-English-speaking countries. Undoubtedly those now remaining more or less ignorant of English for practical purposes number five million.

One can readily picture the difficulties of the immigrant who does not speak English. He cannot converse with Americans, obtaining first-hand our points of view. He must get his information through the medium of an unreliable and frequently not disinterested interpreter. He must get his news through the foreign-language paper. Seeing American life and ways through foreign print and hearing about them from another's lips in a foreign tongue rarely gives a truthful impression.

In industry the non-English-speaking immigrant is a distinct liability. It has taken many years of agitation and publicity on the part of official and unofficial agencies to make industries realize this, but every progressive industrial man now admits its truth. Inability to speak English means more industrial accidents, Safety signs and plant regulations cannot be read, and orders are imperfectly understood. Even though instructions are given through interpreter foremen, there is danger of misunderstanding through misinterpretation. Immigrants laboring under this disability are more readily led by agitators of the bad school to strike. or to commit acts of sabotage to machinery. Whether intentional or unintentional, the immigrant laborer, ignorant of English, is at all times a potential source of danger to himself, his fellow-workmen and his plant.

Secretary Lane's Conference

On April 3, 1918, the Secretary of the Interior called into conference with him all the Governors, chairmen of State Councils of Defense and about three hundred high officials of industrial corporations and chambers of commerce. General consideration was given to the principal features of the problem in the light of the war. The conference approved federal aid to the States for the education of the foreign-born, coöperation by industrial plants on a national scale, and elementary school instruction in the English language only.

Needed Federal Legislation

Those in attendance at the Americanization Conference felt the need of thoroughgoing federal legislation, and a resolution adopted urged upon the Congress the desirability of adequate appropriations to governmental departments dealing with the respective aspects of

Americanization. These sentiments have since been crystallized in a bill to appropriate several million dollars as aid to the States and local communities for carrying on the education of immigrants. The theory back of this bill is that inasmuch as the Federal Government admits the immigrant into the country, and admits him to citizenship, therefore must it interest itself in his proper education and adjustment to American life and conditions. Furthermore, since the immigrant population floats from one community to another and from one State to another, the problem is interstate—one pays the cost and the other gets the benefit of their education. Part of the cost should be borne by the nation.

RECENT STATE LEGISLATION

For several years Massachusetts has had statutes compelling the attendance of illiterate immigrant minors at school and a law requiring local boards of education to maintain suitable classes and schools for them. The New York State Legislature, at the last session, passed three bills similar in tenor—one compelling attendance at a day, evening, or industrial class, of each non-English-speaking or illiterate minor from sixteen to twenty-one years of age; a second requiring local school authorities to maintain suitable facilities where twenty or more such persons reside, and a third providing money for training teachers to do the work. Training under the third measure is now in progress, the State Department of Education having already organized teachers' training institutes and normal courses.

Wisconsin passed several amendments to the continuation school laws, which in effect will be similar to the compulsory attendance laws of Massachusetts and New York. Arizona appropriated State aid for the education of non-English-speaking and illiterate persons, although more sweeping legislation was before the Legislature at the instance of the Governor.

IMMIGRANT PARTICIPATION IN AMERICANIZATION

A new principle and method is being worked out in Americanization. This originates from the participation of hundreds of racial and national societies in the sale of Liberty Bonds, War Saving Stamps, and in other movements relating to the war. Heretofore it has been the general practice to deal with the immigrant as a subject for Americanization rather than as a joint partner in the making of a united America. Today we are gravitating toward making him one with us in the process. This is a safe method to pursue because he who participates and coöperates in anything of vital interest to himself naturally makes greater strides forward. More and more are departments of the Government appointing representative foreign leaders

upon committees and recognizing them officially in some way. This is going to have a very wholesome influence on the movement to mould all the peoples of this country into one united nation. It will be of greatest interest to watch the development of this new principle, for it is likely to become the most effective method in the making of a united America.

THE REAL STORY OF AMERICA

(By Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, March, 1918.)

The story of America is not to be told in the landing of the Pilgrim fathers, the fights with the Indians, Bunker Hill and Yorktown, Gettysburg and Appomattox, Santiago and Manila; nor is the story told in the advance of the pioneer from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in the building of great railroads and the conquering of the wilderness, in the searching of the mountains and the establishing of great industries, in the coming of the immigrant, or in the philosophy of Emerson and of James, or the poetry of Whitman and Poe, in the inventions of Whitney and Edison—not even in the lives of our great leaders.

All these are expressions of the American spirit of adventure, of purposeful searching after the thing that is better. It is an expression of divine dissatisfaction. It may be that this nation, like all others, will come to a period of decline. We cannot expect to live forever. But if we do come to such a period, it will be because we rest content.

We are trying a great experiment in the United States. Can we gather together people of different races, creeds, conditions, and aspirations who can be merged into one? If we cannot do this, we will fail; indeed, we will have already failed.

Making America the Greatest of Nations

If we do this we will produce the greatest of all nations, and a new race that will long hold a compelling place in the world. It is well, therefore, that we come together at such times of stress as this, and we should have come together long since, and put our heads to the problem as to what are the initial steps in bringing about that harmony within our country which will give it meaning, purpose, and cohesion.

We should not be moved to this by fear. There is nothing to fear. Our wars have been fought by men of foreign birth—Irishmen, and Germans, and Swedes, and Scotchmen. We see their names every day in the list of those who are dead on the battlefields of France.

There is no such thing as the American race, excepting the Indian. We are fashioning a new people. We are doing the unprecedented

thing in saying that Slav, Teuton, Celt, and the other races that make up the civilized world are capable of being blended here, and we say this upon the theory that blood alone does not control the destiny of man; that out of his environment, his education, the food that he eats, the neighbors that he has, the work that he does, there can be a formed and realized spirit, an ideal which will master his blood. In this sense we are all internationalists.

SOME UNPLEASANT DISCOVERIES

Now there are several things which we have come upon recently which seem to be discoveries to those of us who have not been wise.

The first is that we have a great body of our own people, five and a half millions, who cannot read or write the language of this country. That language is English. And these are not all of foreign birth. A million and a half are native born.

The second is that we are drafting into our army men who cannot understand the orders that are given them to read.

The third is that our man power is deficient because our education is deficient.

The fourth is that we, ourselves, have failed to see America through the eyes of those who have come to us. We have failed to realize why it was that they came here and what they sought. We have failed to understand their definition of liberty.

To be an American is not to be the embodiment of conceit as to all things that are fundamental in America, or to be satisfied with things as they are, or to let things drift.

We are taking a leaf out of Germany's book in many ways these days. Our ways of war must conform to her processes of destroying human life. She has made herself a composite, compact, purposeful nation by methods of education as well as by authority. We can make ourselves a composite, purposeful nation and impose no authority, other than the compelling influence of affection, sympathy, understanding, and education.

A NEW SPIRIT IN AMERICA

America has never sought to be a world power. She does not now. But America has nothing to live for if Germany becomes the one dominant power of the world. And against that possible day your boys and my boy must give their lives, their ambitions, their dreams, if need be.

And we who are not permitted to fight, what shall be our part? Let it be our resolution that when our sons return they shall find

a new spirit in America, a deeper insight into the problems of a striving people, a stronger, firmer, more positive and purposeful sense of nationality. We shall make America better worth while to Americans and of higher service to the world.

BIRD OF PASSAGE

(By W. B. Bailey, in *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume 18, pages 391-7. November, 1912.)

By the term "bird of passage," as used in this article, is meant the male laborer who comes to the United States with the intention of earning and saving money while employed here, and who, satisfied with his competence or finding the opportunity for employment gone through the beginning of a period of industrial depression, returns home with his savings. Few of these laborers take all of their savings with them upon their departure, but in most cases out of their savings they have been from time to time sending money to friends or relatives in the home country for their support, to pay off the mortgage on the home farm, to purchase land, or to improve the property already possessed. Improvements made with American money upon small farms are frequently seen in villages of Austria-Hungary and Italy.

When the only information concerning the opportunities for employment in the United States offered to Europeans came through occasional books by travelers or letters from friends and relatives, it was not to be expected that the illiterate working population of eighteenth-century Europe would look for the chance for temporary employment across the ocean. Nor were such opportunities available in the United States. Capital for large undertakings was scarce and the digging of canals offered the first opportunity for the employment of low-grade labor upon a large scale. From about 1840 date the large constructive operations of this country. Even if the demand for the "bird of passage" had existed in this country previous to 1850 and this demand had been known throughout Europe, it is improbable that it could have been met, because a means of cheap and rapid ocean transportation had not been provided. Tranportation was slow, expensive, and, with the facilities at that time, inconvenient and dangerous. The possibility of typhus fever was not to be encouraged lightly nor with the possibility of small financial advantage. The population of Europe was land hungry and it was the opportunity offered by the cheap, fertile land of this country which attracted settlers. Labor was scarce and wages high in the United States but this was due rather to the presence of unoccupied land than to the demands of industry. It has been only since the Civil War that the conditions

of demand and supply have been favorable to the "bird of passage" and it is not surprising that we should be confronted with an international movement of considerable magnitude. Although most students of immigration seem to be united in their belief that this country should welcome able-bodied, normal persons of decent habits who desire to settle permanently in the United States, there is a general feeling that the "bird of passage" forms a conspicious exception to this rule and that this migrant to the United States is not to be encouraged. The objections which have been raised against him can be grouped under four heads:

1. Since he does not intend to settle in this country he is not likely to be interested in American institutions, to adopt American customs, or to acquire American ideals. He furnishes an alien element in our body politic.

2. The money which he saves in this country is not deposited in American banks to be used to develop our industries, but is sent abroad. This constitutes a permanent drain upon our resources, amounting to millions of dollars annually.

3. The competition of this laborer, accustomed to foreign standards, tends to lower the American standard of living and makes it difficult for the American laborer to compete with him.

4. The presence of a supply of migratory laborers tends, by stimulating the over production of commodities, to lead to industrial crises. If the supply of labor in a country were fixed, the increase in the demand for laborers would lead to increased wages which would make entrepreneurs more careful about increasing production.

There undoubtedly is truth in each one of these objections, but there are accompanying advantages which have been but little emphasized by students of this problem. There is little doubt that this large number of temporary migrants tends to reduce the variations in the price of labor by keeping the ratio of demand to supply more nearly constant. When the demand falls off and a period of depression approaches, the supply is diminished by the return of these immigrants to their home country. The statistics of the arrival and departure of immigrants for the past few years show this conclusively. The arrival of tens of thousands of this class in good seasons undoubtedly tends to limit the rise in the rate of wages in this country and thus furnishes grounds for the criticism of labor leaders, but when hard times come these same laborers return home and reduce the supply at the very time when the demand is beginning to fall off. Those who return are not the ones who have saved the most money and made the greatest advance in this country, but those whose departure is hastened by the insecurity of their position here. During the depression of 1907 nearly three thousand Italians left New Haven, Conn., for the home country, and a careful investigation showed that those to depart

were the ones who felt themselves in the poorest position to withstand a period of depression. They earned their money in a country of high prices, but when employment ceased they preferred to spend their earnings in a country of low prices. The result of such migration during the crisis is to limit the fall in wages and to free the community from the necessity of supporting a number of unemployed who have made scant provision for the future. The labor union leaders were never so successful in combating a fall in the rate of wages during a period of industrial depression as in 1907-08, and it may be seriously asked whether this was not due in part to the reduction in the supply of labor caused by the withdrawal over-seas of so many thousands of temporary migrants.

It is undoubtedly true that wages in this country during prosperous times are kept at a lower level than would be the case if immigration were prohibited. It may be that crises are hastened since entrepreneurs are not warned by an increase in the rate of wages that stormy times are ahead. But it is also true that certain of the most unfortunate effects of hard times, a decrease in the rate of wages and a great increase in the number of dependents upon charity, are less apparent when the supply of laborers decreases at the time when the demand for them reaches a low point. It is also difficult to prove that industrial crises are most frequent or most severe in those countries which are receiving these temporary migrants in large numbers.

It may be unfortunate that many employments are seasonal and that many operations can be conducted only in warm weather. But we must make the best of things as they are. There will continue to be a demand for seasonal labor in agriculture and construction in this country. This demand can best be met by single men, who, unhampered by family ties, feel free to accept temporary employment. Most of these laborers spend the winters in the cities where there is a continual surplus of unskilled labor. It is difficult to see how the interests of this country can be injuriously affected if these surplus laborers choose to return to the home country, there to remain until there is a demand for their service in the United States.

Our country certainly owes a debt to Europe in that every group of returning immigrants contains some whose vitality has been impaired by severe labor. Others have been the victims of industrial accident and return to the home country with maimed bodies. Compensation for such injuries is a farce in many cases and if they have succeeded in saving something from their wages, and wish to spend their remaining days in a country of low prices, we should not consider that we have been wronged by such action. They came to us in the prime of life, filled with hope and enthusiasm, they performed heroic service in our mines and factories, and now are "scrapped" to increase the number of non-efficients at home. Perhaps we find it cheaper to

import our workers than to raise them. It may be cheaper to send home the worn-out and disabled industrial veterans than to support them here. In either case we owe something to the "bird of passage" and the country which reared him.

That financial system is generally considered the best which is most elastic. A system which will not meet the fluctuations of trade is unsatisfactory. In the matter of employment the "bird of passage" serves as a sort of floating dock to rise and fall with the tides of industrial ebb and flow and render more stable the rate of wages.

CRUX OF THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION

(By A. PIATT ANDREW, in the *North American Review*, Volume 199, pages 866-78, June, 1914.)

It is easy to echo the cry of prejudice if you happen to be of Anglo-Saxon descent, and to assume an air of superiorty and denounce the Italians, Greeks, Poles, Bohemians, and Russian Jews, as if they ranked somewhere between man and the beast, but were not wholly human. The same intolerant attitude of mind among the Anglo-Saxon Puritan settlers of early colonial days led to the whipping, imprisonment, banishment, and even hanging of Quakers and others of unlike religious beliefs. If you share these prejudices today, walk some Sunday afternoon through the galleries of the art museums in our large cities and note who are the people most interested in their treasures; inquire at the public libraries who are their most appreciative patrons; visit the night schools and observe who constitute their most eager classes; study the lineage of the ranking students in our universities and you will find that our libraries, art-galleries, universities, and schools often find their best patrons among the offspring of these despised races of southern and eastern Europe.

There is no evidence that the newer immigrants are inferior to the old. It is only the recurrence of a groundless prejudice which makes some people feel so. But even if the new immigration is not inferior in character to the old, we have still to ask whether there is not a menace in the very numbers of the immigrants now coming in. We hear a great deal these days about the alarming increase in immigration. We are told that more than a million foreign-born are coming into this country every year, that the number is increasing as never before, and that the country cannot absorb so great an influx. What are the facts in this regard?

As to the amount to recent immigration, the tide ebbs and flows with the alternating advances and recessions of business, and the tendency is for each successive wave to reach a higher level than its

predecessors. In 1854 a record of 428,000 arrivals was established; then there was a great recession, and in 1873 a new high level of 460,000 was reached. The next wave culminated in 1882 with 789,000, and in 1907 the highest of all immigrant records was reached, 1,285,000. During the last ten years the average number of immigrants arriving in this country has not fallen much short of a million per year, and this figure considered by itself does look portentous. One must bear in mind, however, that it represents only one side of the ledger and is subject to very heavy deductions. If you are reckoning the extent to which your property has increased during a given period. it does not suffice merely to count up the income. You must also deduct the outgo. And if you are reckoning the actual addition to our population which results from immigration, if you would have in mind the actual number of immigrants that we have had to absorb, you must take account of both sides of the ledger, of the outgo as well as of the income. During the last six years the number of departing aliens has been carefully collated, and it appears that from 400,000 to 700,000 aliens depart from the United States every year. This leaves a net balance of arriving aliens of only about 550,000 per year, or only about one-half of the total that is commonly cited as representing the annual influx. Even this figure may look precarious, however, until we have considered it in its appropriate relations and comparisons.

The capacity of the country to assimilate the incoming thousands without any serious modification of our institutions or standards depends in part upon two conditions: first, upon the proportion which the aliens bear to the resident population by which they are to be absorbed, and, second, upon whether the country is already approaching the saturation point as regards the density of its population. Now the proportion of foreign-born in our total population has not varied much in recent decades, and even in the record year 1907 the percentage of immigrants to population was lower than it has been on several other occasions during the past sixty years. As compared with the population of the country the immigration of recent years has not bulked as large as the immigration of the early fifties, and if we consider only the net immigration, it makes today an addition to the total population of the country of only a little more than one-half of 1 per cent. per year.

Nor need one fear that we are reaching the point in this country where population presses upon the means of subsistence. The number of our people will have to be multiplied sixfold to tenfold to equal that of Germany or that of Italy, and to be multiplied eighteenfold to equal that of England. It the present population of the whole United States were located in the State of Texas alone, there would still not be two-thirds as many inhabitants per square mile in that

state as there are today in England. One must, indeed, have little faith in the future of the United States who, in the face of such comparisons, believes that the population of this country as a whole is approaching the saturation point, or that from the standpoint of the country as a whole we need be terrified by the dimensions of present immigration. It amounts in annual net to little more than one-half of 1 per cent. of our present population, and that population will have to increase many hundred per cent. before we have reached a density remotely approaching that of any of the leading countries of Europe.

There will, of course, always be timid Americans who will wonder how we can possiby hope to assimilate foreigners to the extent of as much as one-half of 1 per cent. of our population per year and who would prefer to see the country relatively weak and undeveloped than run the risk of continuing the experiment. When Jefferson proposed to purchase all of the great territory west of the Mississippi known as Louisiana, the citizens of Boston organized a public meeting to protest against the project. They thought it would destroy the relative influence of New England in the country's affairs, and they thought that the United States could not assimilate so vast a territory; and though their fears have proven not only groundless but absurd by subsequent history, there are many still in Boston and elsewhere in the country who feel that our powers of assimilation have now reached their limit of capacity and ought not to be further taxed.

There will, of course, always be Americans absorbed in history and genealogy who will sigh for the good old days when America was only a sparsely settled fringe of seaboard states, and who will wish that the population of the country might still consist of the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution, the Colonial Dames, and the Sons of the Colonial Wars. This might, indeed, have been a pleasant condition from certain points of view, but of one thing we may be certain: This country today would not be settled from coast to coast; our cities would not be a fifth of their present size; our powers as a nation and our prosperity as individuals would only have been a fraction of what they are, had imigration been prevented.

INFLUENCE OF IMMIGRATION ON AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT

(By A. MAURICE LOW.)

A new nation, according to an American writer on immigration who fears the danger of immigration, derives its whole character and has its whole future determined by its first settlers, a proposition with which I agree, as it confirms the result of my investigation that the character

of America has been determined by its Puritan ancestry; but the corollary of his proposition—when subsequent immigration takes place on a scale large in relation to the total population, equally far-reaching changes may be made in the nation's institutions and ideals—is an assertion too dogmatic and not sufficiently sustained by the facts, so far at least as the United States is concerned, to be accepted without qualification. The institutions and ideals of a nation, the character and speech of a people, their morals and their customs, may be corrupted or improved by contact with or by being brought under subjection to more virile or aggressive races, but mere numbers are not the determining factor. We have seen that the institutions and ideals of America are English, and although there was a simultaneous colonization of America by the English, the French, the Spanish, the Dutch, the Swedes, it is only English speech and English customs and English ideals that have survived; we search in vain for any lasting impression that has been made on the speech of America, on its legal or political systems, on its concept of mortality, on its literature or its customs by colonizers other than English; it is as if they had not existed; as if, similar to the Indians, they could not be assimilated, nor were they virile enough to impose their civilization upon the conquering white "immigrants." So far as the later immigration is concerned, that which began in the first decades of the nineteenth century and has continued, we are able to find that it has changed either the nation's institutions or ideals or that it has had the slightest effect upon its political system. The millions of foreigners who have settled in America and have become Americans have not modified by a hair's breadth the fundamental code that was given to the people by its first lawgivers.

It required a great many years before the world would admit the truth of the seemingly paradoxical discovery made by Gresham that bad money drives out good, because to the ignorant it appeared that the reverse must be true; but now the law stands unchallenged. In the same way the world has for a long period of years believed that the socially lower immigrant debases the more highly civilized native-born; but this is a fallacy.

The law of immigration—a law as exact in its operation as the law of Gresham in finance, of Newton in gravitation—can thus be briefly summarized:

Where people of lower order of civilization are brought in contact with a more numerous people, possessed of an advanced civilization, firmly planted in its own traditions, customs, and institutions, with a political system that permits the immigrant to enjoy equal political and social rights with the native-born, the effect is not to degrade the higher civilization but eventually to raise the lower.

The effect of immigration, therefore, is not to drag down the native-born to the level of the immigrant, but to raise the immigrant to the level of the native-born.

The ambition of the male immigrant is to marry the native-born, for that is one of the means to advance in the social scale. Before he can gratify his ambition, however, he must have raised himself out of his immediate surroundings and have something to offer the woman he would marry. He is the exceptional member of his class. He has physical or mental qualities that distinquish him from his fellow-immigrants. There is little if any desire on the part of the native-born to marry the immigrant, for that is a step downward in the social scale. Such marriages are marriages of passion and are rare.

The effect of immigration, therefore, is to replenish and to fortify the native stock by the process of selection on the male side.

A high birth-rate is an indication of a low order of civilization. As a consequence of immigration the birth-rate of the immigrant is reduced until finally it falls to the normal level of the more civilized people into which the immigrant has been absorbed.

The effect of immigration, therefore, is not to destroy civilization by an abnormal and harmful birth-rate, but to restrict both native and foreign births to the ratio that nature has determined will best conduce to the physical, intellectual, and social development of the race.

The causes of immigration are poverty, denial of opportunity, and the hope of wealth; and the latter must be regarded as a relative term purely. It is early impressed on the immigrant that to succeed he must become a part of the people among whom he lives: he must speak their tongue, for they will not speak his; he must imitate their habits; he must follow their customs. The sooner he ceases to be an immigrant, that is, a foreigner and a stranger, the sooner he reaches his goal.

The effect of immigration, therefore, is not to engraft foreign speech, customs, and manners upon a people possessed of their own language, customs, and manners, nor to traduce the language, customs, and manners of a superior civilization.

The native-born children of immigrants learn more rapidly the language of their nativity than they acquire that of their parents. Thrown from an early age in contact with the native-born, working for them in menial and subordinate positions, realizing the gulf that separates the native-born from the immigrant and that the native-born dominate, the child of the immigrant is unconsciously brought under native influence and is impelled to speak, to look, to dress, and in every way to imitate his superior. The ambition of the immigrant's child is to be absorbed into the people of whom he is one by birth, for his "foreignness" is not a source of pride, but a handicap to

success and a career. He has no repugnance to this merging of his nationality, he does not attempt to resist it, but, on the contrary, he facilitates it by every means in his power.

The effect of immigration, therefore, is not to perpetuate and increase the foreign element by the immigrant transmitting his speech and customs to his posterity, but is to merge the native-born children of immigrants into the native population.

The immigrant is compelled to accept the least desirable and lowest remunerated employment, thus displacing the native-born, who are forced to seek work demanding more skill and commanding higher wages.

The effect of immigration, therefore, is not to lower wages and create unemployment, but is to raise the social and industrial status of the native wage-earner.

THE MELTING POT

Extract from a speech of Hon. Frank M. Nye, of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, Saturday, December 14, 1912:

Mr. Chairman: I think it was Whittier who said:

"It is the heart and not the brain,
That to the highest doth attain."

The world's permanent betterment and advancement will come through the hearts of men rather than through that which we call education; and I think that one of the most practical tests of the heart of a man, his motives in life, is the fact that he intends to be a useful man to any country in which he lives, and to the world. The workingmen, whether they come from Italy or Poland or Ireland or Germany or France, the men who come here with their families or without their families, for the honest purpose of work, whether it is within an organization or out of it, may, as a rule, be counted as men of pretty good hearts and good motives and in their purposes to earn a living, you are liable, so far as the bill is concerned, so far as you educate them, to place a weapon in their hands for injury.

Educated villainy is more dangerous than honest ignorance; and many of our own people, I think we must admt, are using the weapon of education to wring and oppress their fellow men. I believe that usefulness wherever a man lives is true education. The useful hand and the useful brain—and true education is that in which the hand and brain work together—are a benefit to any country. And we cannot in human legislation pick out the man of genius or the man whose work is to be most effective in the advancement of civilization. Marconi

was an Italian; his father an Italian, his mother an Irish peasant girl from Northern Ireland. Luther, whom my friend from Missouri (Mr. Bartholdt) honors and respects in his religion, was the child of poor miner peasants in Germany. Lincoln was born in the heart of obscurity and came out of the wilderness of poverty and pain. Genius is often born in the hovel. God takes the weak things to confound the mighty, and for us by this species of legislation to say that a man who can barely read may be admitted and that this is to be the test of his citizenship seems to me puerile. I do not believe in it. I believe that this country is destined to amalgamate and bring out of many races the glory of the future ages. Some people laugh at what we call the "melting pot." Call it what you will. I call it that spirit which comes from the best heart of America to unify mankind and to establish a fraternal relation by means of which we are to solve this and other perplexing problems of today. It is true we are a nation of extremes. We have abnormal wealth at the top and resentment and, perhaps, bitterness at the bottom. We have wrong and injustice here and resentment there, but the human brain and that which we call education will not solve it. It must come from the hearts of men. It must be the spirit that unifies men; it must be the spirit of good will to men.

We are prone to attribute the ills of our social life to anything and everything but ourselves. It is always the other fellow. But our national perils are not from without so much as from within. The clever, native-born American, who is often as unscrupulous as he is clever, may well claim our attention when we study the causes which menace our national happiness. To get rich quick or to get something for nothing is not so strikingly peculiar to our foreign-born population, and especially the working classes. These have no monopoly of vice and crime. Virtue is more often the companion of industry than of idleness, and the people we seek to include by this bill are as a rule industrious. Jefferson believed in an aristocracy of virtue and talent rather than aristocracy of wealth. The foreigner as a rule gives us a constant lesson of industry and economy, which many of the native-born may well emulate. He lives within his means, and generally saves from his earnings, even if they are small; and while we are wasteful, he is frugal; while we are idle, he works. He adapts his expenses to his income, and he succeeds where we fail. I do not mean this is true in all cases, but everywhere in country and city it is so common that no one can fail to observe it. I would not disparage the native-born citizen, but let us not be blind to our weaknesses nor ignore our faults or the vices of our civilization which we are responsible for. The New World is the Child of the Old. We are united by millions of family ties, which every law of nature forbids we should sever by

narrow and arbitrary enactments of law. The hardships the foreigner must undergo in leaving his home and native land and fighting the battle of life after he gets here is in itself proof that he is good for something. We are not getting the most wealthy of Europe, but the most worthy—men of mettle—men of grit and perservance. The sturdy sons of northern Europe give strength and character to our citizenship, while southern Europe, the land of historic genius in painting, sculpture, music, literature, and philosophy, gives her best blood to the New World to make complete the foundations of a future civilization whose possibilities are beyond the dreams of men. May we not hope that in this land, so richly endowed by heaven and under a diviner democracy than any yet known to the children of men, the Old World may find its renovation in the new and the new gather inspiration from the Old? Patriotic, liberty-loving America of the future, the land that holds the hope of humanity, must answer this question.

THE NEW IMMIGRANT

Extract from a speech of Hon. W. L. Igoe of Missouri, in the House of Representatives, January 5, 1914:

The statistics and reports furnish us with convincing proof that our foreign-born inhabitants, given the opportunity to secure an education, not only take advantage of it themselves but almost invariably see that their children receive an education. The last census report shows that, notwithstanding the number of illiterates that are supposed to be coming into this country, there were in the United States in 1910 a total of 788,631 foreign-born illiterates over the age of twenty-one years. The statistics further show that in the population ten years of age and over the percentage of illiteracy in the United States among native whites of native parentage was 3.7 per cent. while among whites of foreign-born or mixed parentage it was 1.1 per cent.

Instead of our aliens being unappreciative of our institutions and not in sympathy with them, these figures indicate an eager and patriotic desire to take advantage of every means afforded to better their own and their children's condition. It is a sufficient answer to those who say the alien is not in sympathy with our institutions.

Many statements have been made here that would indicate that our recent immigration was wholly undesirable for various reasons. We have heard much about the old immigration and the new immigration, but we have received no definite information as to just when the old immigration ceased and the new immigration began. Repeated statements have been made on the floor that in my judgment are

not warranted by any facts or figures that have been produced. Even the majority report does an injustice to the recent immigrants, in my opinion, when a partial statement from the report of the Immigration Commission in regard to crime is set forth. From this statement it might be assumed that the Commission found that the greater portion of our new immigrants, on landing in this country, immediately resorted to homicide, blackmail and robbery. The quotation is given as one of the reasons for the literacy test, yet when we examine the report of the Commission on the same page from which the majority report quotes, we find the following statement:

"It is impossible from existing data to determine whether the immigrant population in this country is relatively more or less criminal than the native-born population. Statistics show that the proportion of convictions for crimes, according to the population, is greater among the foreign-born than the native-born. It must be remembered, however, that the proportion of persons of what may be termed the criminal age is greater among the foreign-born than among the natives, and when due allowance is made for this fact it appears that criminality, judged by convictions, is about equally prevalent in each class."

It might not be out of place to examine other portions of that report. Under the heading "Immigration and Pauperism," on page 35, the Commission says:

"At the present time, however, pauperism among newly admitted immigrants is relatively at a minimum, owing to the fact that the present immigration law provides for the admission only of the able-bodied or dependents whose support by relatives is assured. The number of those admitted who receive assistance from organized charity in cities is relatively small. In the Commission's investigation, which covered the activities of the associated charities in forty-three cities, including practically all the large immigrant centers except New York, it was found that a small percentage of the cases represented immigrants who had been in the United States three years or under, while nearly half of the foreign-born cases were those who had been in the United States twenty years or more. This investigation was conducted during the winter of 1908-1909, before industrial activities had been fully resumed following the financial depression of 1907-1908, and this inquiry showed that the recent immigrants, even in the cities in times of relative industrial inactivity, did not seek charitable assistance in any considerable numbers. Undoubtedly conditions would have been otherwise had it not been for the large outward movement of recent immigrants following the depression; but however that may be, it is certain that those who remain were for the most part self-supporting."

Surely, if the new immigrants are so undesirable, it cannot be because they lack industry, thrift, or ability to support and maintain themselves by their own efforts.

SECRETARY NAGEL'S OPINION

Secretary of Commerce and Labor Nagel in 1913 disapproved of such further restriction of immigration as was contemplated in literacy test legislation which had passed both houses of Congress for reasons stated as follows: I am of the opinion that this literacy test provision can not be defended upon its merits. It was orginally urged as a selective test. For some time recommendations in its support upon that ground have been brought to our attention. The matter has been considered from that point of view, and I became completely satisfied that upon that ground the test could not be sustained. The older argument is now abandoned, and in the later conferences, at least, the ground is taken that the provision is to be defended as a practical measure to exclude a large proportion of undesirable immigrants from certain countries. The measure proposes to reach its results by indirection, and is defended purely upon the ground of practical policy, the final purpose being to reduce the quantity of cheap labor in this country. I cannot accept this argument. No doubt the law would exclude a considerable percentage of immigration from southern Italy, among the Poles, the Mexicans, and the Greeks. This exclusion would embrace probably in large part undesirable but also a great many desirable people, and the embarrassment, expense, and distress to those who seek to enter would be out of all proportion to any good that can possibly be promised for this measure.

My observation leans me to the conclusion that, so far as the merits of the individual immigrants are concerned, the test is altogether overestimated. The people who come from the countries named are frequently illiterate because opportunities have been denied them. The oppression with which these people have to contend in modern times is not religious, but it consists of a denial of the opportunity to acquire reading and writing. Frequently the attempt to learn to read and write the language of the particular people is discouraged by the Government and these immigrants in coming to our shores are really striving to free themselves from the condition under which they have been compelled to live.

So far as the industrial conditions are concerned, I think the question has been superficially considered. We need labor in this country, and the natives are unwilling to do the work which the aliens come over to do. It is perfectly true that in a few cities and localities there are

congested conditions. It is equally true that in very much larger areas we are practically without help. In my judgment, no sufficiently earnest and intelligent effort has been made to bring our wants and our supply together, and so far the same forces that give the chief support to this provision of the new bill have stubbornly resisted any effort looking to an intelligent distribution of new immigration to meet the needs of our vast country. In my judgment, no such drastic measure based upon a ground which is untrue and urged for a reason which we are unwilling to assert should be adopted until we have at least exhausted the possibilities of a rational distribution of these new forces.

Furthermore, there is a misapprehension as to the character of the people who come over here to remain. It is true that in certain localities newly arrived aliens live under deplorable conditions. Just as much may be said of certain localities that have been inhabited for a hundred years by natives of this country. These are not the general conditions, but they are the exceptions. It is true that a very considerable portion of immigrants do not come to remain, but return after they have acquired some means, or because they find themselves unable to cope with the conditions of a new and aggressive country. Those who return for the latter reason relieve us of their own volition of a burden. Those who return after they have acquired some means certainly must be admitted to have left with us a consideration for the advantages which they have enjoyed. A careful examination of the character of the people who come to stay and of the employment in which a large part of the new immigration is engaged will, in my judgment, dispel the apprehension which many of our people entertain. The census will disclose that with rapid strides the foreign-born citizen is acquiring the farm lands of this country. Even if the foreign-born alone is considered, the percentage of his ownership is assuming a proportion that ought to attract the attention of the native citizens. If the second generation is included it is safe to say that in the Middle West and West a majority of the farms are today owned by foreign-born people or those who are descendants of the first generation. This does not only embrace the Germans and the Scandinavians, but is true to large measure, for illustration, of the Bohemians and the Poles. It is true in surprising measure of the Italians, not only of the northern Italians, but of the southern.

Again, an examination of the aliens who come to stay is of great significance. During the last fiscal year 838,172 aliens came to our shores, although the net immigration of the year was only a trifle above 400,000. But, while we received of skilled labor 127,016, and only 35,898 returned; we received servants 116,529, and only 13,449 returned; we received farm laborers 184,154, and only 3,978 returned;

it appears that laborers came in the number of 135,726, while 209,279 returned. These figures ought to demonstrate that we get substantially what we most need, and what we cannot ourselves supply, and that we get rid of what we least need and what seems to furnish, in the minds of many, the chief justification for the bill now under discussion.

The census returns show conclusively that the importance of illiteracy among aliens is overestimated, and that these people are prompt after their arrival to avail of the opportunities which this country affords. While, according to the reports of the Bureau of Immigration, about twenty-five per cent. of the incoming aliens are illiterate, the census shows that among the foreign-born people of such states as New York and Massachusetts where most of the congestion complained of has taken place, the proportion of illiteracy represents only about thirteen per cent.

I am persuaded that this provision of the bill is in principle of very great consequence, and that it is based upon a fallacy in undertaking to apply a test which is not calculated to reach the truth and to find relief from a danger which really does not permit of compromise, and, much as I regret it, because the other provisions of the measure are in most respects excellent and in no respect really objectionable, I am pleased to advise that you do not approve of the bill.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S MESSAGE

(President Wilson's Message of January 28, 1915, vetoing the Immigration Bill which provided for a literacy test.)

It is with unaffected regret that I find myself constrained by clear conviction to return this bill (H. R. 6060, "An act to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States") without my signature.

Not only do I feel it to be a serious matter to exercise the power of veto in any case, because it involves opposing the single judgment of the President to the judgment of a majority of both houses of the Congress, a step which no man who realizes his own liability to error can take without great hesitation, but also because this particular bill is in so many important respects admirable, well conceived, and desirable.

Its enactment into law would undoubtedly enhance the efficiency and improve the methods of handling the important branch of the public service to which it relates. But candor and a sense of duty with regard to the responsibility so clearly imposed upon me by the Constitution in matters of legislation leave me no choice but to dissent.

In two particulars of vital consequence, this bill embodies a radical departure from the traditional and long-established policy of this

country, a policy in which our people have conceived the very character of their government to be expressed, the very mission and spirit of the nation in respect of its relation to the peoples of the world outside their borders. It seeks to all but close entirely the gates of asylum which have always been open to those who could find nowhere else the right and opportunity of constitutional agitation for what they conceived to be the natural and inalienable rights of men; and it includes those to whom the opportunities of elementary education have been denied, without regard to their character, their purpose, or their natural capacity.

Restrictions like those adopted earlier in our history as a nation would very materially have altered the course and cooled the humane ardors of our politics. The right of political asylum has brought to this country many a man of noble character and elevated purpose who was marked as an outlaw in his own less fortunate land, and who has yet become an ornament to our citizenship and to our public counsils.

The children and the compatriots of the illustrious Americans must stand amazed to see the representatives of their nation now resolved, in the fullness of our national strength and at the maturity of our great institutions, to risk turning such men back from our "shores without test of quality or purpose." It is difficult for me to believe that the full effect of this feature of the bill was realized when it was framed and adopted, and it is impossible for me to assent to it in the form in which it is here cast.

The literacy test and the tests and restrictions which accompany it constitute an even more radical change in the policy of the nation. Hitherto we have generously kept our doors open to all who were not unfitted by reason of disease or incapacity for self-support or such personal records and antecedents as were likely to make them a menace to our peace and order or to the wholesome and essential relationships of life. In this bill it is proposed to turn away from tests of character and of quality and to impose tests which exclude and restrict; for the new tests here embodied are not tests of quality or of character or of personal fitness, but tests of opportunity. Those who come seeking opportunity are not to be admitted unless they have already had one of the chief of the opportunities they seek—the opportunity of education. The object of such provisions is restriction, not selection.

If the people of this country have made up their minds to limit the number of immigrants by arbitrary tests and so reverse the policy of all the generations of Americans that have gone before them, it is their right to do so. I am their servant and have no license to stand in their way. But I do not believe that they have. I respectfully submit that no one can quote their mandate to that effect. Has any

political party ever avowed a policy of restriction in this fundamental matter, gone to the country on it, and been commissioned to control its legislation? Does this bill rest upon the conscious and universal assent and desire of the American people? I doubt it. It is because I doubt it, that I make bold to dissent from it. I am willing to abide by the verdict, but not until it has been rendered. Let the platforms of parties speak out upon this policy and the people pronounce their wish. The matter is too fundamental to be settled otherwise.

I have no pride of opinion on this question. I am not foolish enough to profess to know the wishes and ideals of Americans better than the body of her chosen representatives know them. I only want instructions direct from those whose fortunes, with ours, and all men's are involved.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S MESSAGE

(Message of President Cleveland of March 2, 1897, vetoing an immigration bill which provided for a literacy test.)

I hereby return without approval House bill No. 7864, entitled "An act to amend the immigration laws of the United States."

By the first section of this bill it is proposed to amend section 1 of the act of March 3, 1891, relating to immigration by adding to the classes of aliens thereby excluded from admission to the United States as follows: "All persons physically capable and over sixteen years of age who cannot read and write the English language or some other language.

A radical departure from our national policy relating to immigrants is here presented. Heretofore we have welcomed all who came to us from other lands except those whose moral or physical condition or history threatened danger to our national welfare and safety. Relying upon the zealous watchfulness of our people to prevent injury to our political and social fabric, we have encouraged those coming from foreign countries to cast their lot with us and join in the development of our vast domain, securing in return a share in the blessings of American citizenship.

A century's stupendous growth, largely due to the assimilation and thrift of millions of sturdy and patriotic adopted citizens, attests the success of this generous and free-handed policy which, while guarding the people's interests, exacts from our immigrants only physical and moral soundness and a willingness and ability to work.

A contemplation of the grand results of this policy can not fail to rouse a sentiment in its defense, for however it might have been regarded as an original proposition and viewed as an experiment, its accomplishments are such that if it is to be uprooted at this late day

its disadvantages should be plainly apparent and the substitute adopted should be just and adequate, free from uncertainties, and guarded against difficult or oppressive administration.

It is not claimed, I believe, that the time has come for the further restriction of immigration on the ground that an excess of population overcrowds our land.

It is said, however, that the quality of recent immigration is undesirable. The time is quite within recent memory when the same thing was said of immigrants who, with their descendants, are now numbered among our best citizens.

A careful examination of this bill has convinced me that for the reasons given and others not specifically stated its provisions are unnecessarily harsh and oppressive, and that its defects in construction would cause vexation and its operation would result in harm to our citizens.

IMMIGRATION AND THE SOUTH

(From the *Nation*, Volume 82, pages 498, May 17, 1906)

When we remember that the entire peninsula of Italy, excluding the Alps and the Apennines, is but little larger than the State of Georgia, and that it supports, chiefly by agriculture, a population of 36,000,000 we can see why newcomers from the south of Europe, trained to methods of careful and intensive cultivation, should get ahead in a region where the farming methods are among the loosest and most wasteful in the world. Many instances could be given of the achievements of adventurous immigrants who have disregarded all warnings, and have found comfortable homes, hospitable friends, and a freedom which they could not have hoped for in the overcrowded cities. A colony at Ladson, South Carolina, has found silk-raising profitable. Prosperous Italian and Bohemian truck farmers are now living along the seaboard from Norfolk to Jacksonville. An experiment in Alabama, where a colony was set at work in the cotton fields, has been wholly successful, and has shown that the cultivation of cotton can be performed by white labor as well as by black. In the South more than one "model" farm, demonstrating the effect of intensive methods and hard work, is in the hands of men who, though industrious and intelligent, have been in this country hardly long enough to make themselves understood. These examples of adaptability, as they become more widely known among the immigrants, cannot but have the effect of turning attention to the South.

The importance of immigration to the South can hardly be overestimated. The population in many districts is very sparse, and the

opportunities for development of agricultural and mineral resources are boundless. For this work there must be men and money; but if the South can once turn the tide of immigration, the capital will be forthcoming in abundance. A question often raised is the effect of foreign labor upon the negro. If the South carries out its plan of drawing the best foreign labor, the effect upon the negro should be beneficial. If he is to hold his own in competition, he will be forced to improve himself, and he will be stimulated intellectually and morally. One reason why he is lazy and irresponsible is that he often regards himself as not a direct competitor of white; and he measures himself by no standard of achievement except that of the shiftless and ignorant of his own race. The coming of the immigrant should open the eyes of his mind and soul. Placed side by side with earnest, steady workmen, he himself should reach a higher degree of skill and trustworthiness.

From every point of view, it is the South's plain duty to itself and to the rest of the country to correct the evil impressions that have gone abroad as to its conditions of life and the opportunities for tranquil, profitable, livelihood. In order to set forth its manifold advantages the South must employ such businesslike methods as have been used in advertising our own Western States and the Canadian Northwest. Keen, alert agents at home and abroad will doubtless obtain desirable settlers in growing numbers.

OUR EMIGRATION

(*Detroit Free Press*, December 18, 1912.)

With many persons, the immigration question has become a bugaboo to frighten native-born children o' nights. Some, apparently, have an idea that the countries of Europe are deliberately shipping their peasants and undesirables, and outcasts to the United States at the rate of several million a year, and that in a very brief period there will be no more "real" Americans.

This exaggerated concern for the future is founded, of course, upon a real condition. There is a considerable problem confronting the country in the necessity for the assimilation of homeseekers and others who come from the Old World, but that the problem is not necessarily hopeless, that it is not the frightful thing some would have us believe, may be deduced from statistics submitted in the annual report of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

According to this report, 1,017,155 aliens have entered the United States this year. Out of this number 838,172 were of the immigrant

class. But on the other hand 615,292 aliens have left the country, leaving a net increase in foreign population for the year of 401,843. In other words, the net increase in foreign population stands to the whole population of the country approximately as a net increase of 500 would stand to the whole population of a city of 100,000.

It is to be noted further that the increase in 1912 is less than in the two years immediately preceding, the figures of 1911 being 512,085, and those for 1910 being 817,619. While it is probable that a part of the falling off is due to the European wars of the last few months and to the consequent recall of reservists, the figures, nevertheless, show that there is no great tendency to large growth in the net amount of immigration from year to year, and that the problem of assimilation ought to be well within the power of any grown-up and robust nation, even if there are difficult situations in some few localities. There is beginning to arise a suspicion that some of the troubles we have been in the habit of ascribing to immigration are due at least in part to other causes—for instance, to the widespread flight of the native born from the country place to the big cities.

Bibliography

A list of publications containing valuable material on the query under discussion is given below. The books and magazines can be secured from their publishers. Included in the bibliography are the names of a number of organizations and bureaus which will be glad to furnish material as far as they are able.

GENERAL REFERENCES

The Bureau of Extension of the University of North Carolina will furnish material in addition to this bulletin, such as it may be able to obtain from time to time. Address the Bureau of Extension, Chapel Hill, N. C.

The North Carolina Library Commission will furnish traveling package libraries on the question upon the request of the principal of the school. Address Miss Mary B. Palmer, Secretary, Raleigh, N. C.

Debaters' Handbook Series—"Immigration." 1915. This contains 300 pages, or more, of arguments and references on both sides of the query. Published by the H. W. Wilson Co., 958-64 University Ave., New York, N. Y. Price, $1.25.

"The World Almanac" for 1919. Contains valuable information and statistics bearing on the query. Each school should secure a copy. Issued by the Press Publishing Co., Pulitzer Building, New York City. Price 50 cents.

The Commissioner General of Immigration, Washington, D. C., will furnish a copy of his last annual report upon application.

The North Carolina Senators and Representatives in Congress will furnish from Congressional sources such material as is at their disposal, upon request.

The Immigration Restriction League, II Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass., will furnish a supply of material on the affirmative side of the query upon receipt of 10 cents to cover cost of mailing the material.

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